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THE ORTHODOX MISSION

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The Editor

Dom Gregory Rees

THE REVIVAL OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

Fr. G. Deafive, S.J.

John Todd

ECUMENICAL COMMENT

RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE COPTIC CHURCH, XIX

Dr O. H. K. H. Bannister

NEWS AND COMMENTS

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'THE ORTHODOX MISSION'

IN the Winter issue of the *E.C.Q.* 1951 there appeared an article with the above title. Here was given an outline of the position of the Orthodox Churches to-day with what may be called their jurisdictional combinations, their traditional reaction to their temporal environment, their missions in the Far East and their increasingly widely spread diaspora, with some suggestions as to how Catholics should approach this situation.

We now intend to pursue this inquiry in greater detail so that most of the articles during this year will discuss various sides to this problem. The autumn issue, however, will be devoted to the Reunion Movement in Malabar whose jubilee celebrations will take place in December. Yet this has its own bearing on the subject under discussion.

Some recent literature suggests the line we should examine first; *A History of the Ecumenical Movement* (this book was reviewed in our last issue), *St Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* (Vol III 1, 2), and *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy*.

In the *History* we are given a very full picture of the extent to which the Orthodox have taken and still do take in the Ecumenical Movement and we do not hesitate to call it an important part from a Catholic point of view. Their actual numbers present have varied at these Conferences, they have always been in a minority but they have stood as a witness to the Faith and many questions have been brought to the fore because of their presence on committees; viz, the Eucharist, the idea of the Church, the place of our Lady in Christian teaching.

Two sections deal with the Eastern Churches and the Ecumenical Movement; Dr George Florovsky considers the position up to 1910, and Dr Zernov the work during the twentieth century.

Fr Florovsky's paper is a fascinating historical study of the relations of the Orthodox with the Christian West from the sixteenth century to 1910, from which we see how in each century there has been either some approach made with the West or an outstanding Orthodox leader has appeared as the champion of some struggling Orthodox community. Much of this was largely politics but some was in defence of the Orthodox Faith which, in the case of Cyril Loukaris, lead to the condemning of a patriarch of Constantinople.

The article of Dr Zernov deals with the present position. He first compares the position of the Eastern Churches in 1910 to their position in 1925. The collapse of the three empires: Russia, Austria and Turkey, has brought about far reaching changes for these churches. Yet from the early twentieth century right through the changes there was an attempt on the part of the West to have friendly relations with the East. This was begun by two quite different societies: the Anglo-Catholic Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union founded in 1906 and the World's Student Christian Federation some of whose members, led by Dr John Mott, made a tour of the Russian (in 1899) and Balkan (in 1911) universities. In this way real friendly contact was made with the Orthodox and so the foundations on which subsequent ecumenical relationships were laid. Catholics can learn much from this example. The Movement has brought at least one advantage to the Orthodox. It has been the means of bringing the different Orthodox Churches together, it has also brought them in touch with members of the 'Lesser Eastern Churches'. The Orthodox Churches have been brought to realize their own unity and what they share in common with the other Oriental Christians.

We will now pass on to *St Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*. This is a double issue devoted to the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches held at Evanston.

The editors have done a fine piece of work, they have given us a very full Orthodox comment on the work of the W.C.C.

There were forty-six members of the Orthodox Church present in some official capacity or other. There were strong contingents from the patriarchate of Constantinople and from

the Church of Greece, of this last group, however, the three bishops of the Delegation did not attend the Conference. The delegation consisted of ten university professors and the Archimandrite Jeronymos Kotsonis, royal chaplain to the King of Greece.

The quarterly contains abbreviated copies of the papers read by the Orthodox delegates among whom were Archbishop Michael of North and South America, Dr G. Florovsky, Dr Charles Malik, delegate of the patriarchate of Antioch and Lebanese Ambassador to the U.S.A., and Professor Basil Joannides.

The two Declarations of the Orthodox Delegations, one concerning the main theme (i.e. Christ the Hope of the World) and the other concerning the report on Faith and Order are given.

These are clear statements of Orthodox teaching on the matters in hand. The second Declaration says plainly : 'from the Orthodox viewpoint reunion of Christendom with which the W.C.C. is concerned can be achieved solely on the basis of the total dogmatic Faith of the early, undivided Church without subtraction or alteration', and, 'we are bound to declare our profound conviction that the Holy Orthodox Church alone has preserved in full and intact the faith once delivered to the saints'.

A number of Press reviews are also given. *The Christian Century* quotes Professor John Baillie, one of the newly elected presidents of the W.C.C. saying : 'We have long understood that we can only keep the Orthodox within the World Council if we allow them to express their dissent on this question (i.e. Christian unity). They want to stay in and we want to keep them in. They agree with us in so much that we have to say, but they must be allowed to express their dissent on certain points. It is on these terms that they are in and we are happy to have them on these terms until we can present a more united front.'

We add here a piece of significant news from E.P.S., Geneva. Bishop James Koukouzis, who was consecrated as titular bishop of Melita in Constantinople in February, has arrived in Geneva. The new bishop is taking up his appointment as liaison representative of the œcumeneal patriarch at the headquarters of the World Council of Churches. During the next few weeks Bishop James will confer with the officers of the divisions and departments of the W.C.C. in order to lay plans for a wider two-way exchange of correspondence and

documentation between the World Council and its Eastern Orthodox member churches. He was officially welcomed by the officers and staff of the Council at a meeting called on Saturday, 2nd April.

Professor Hodges in his little book, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* (S.C.M. Press, 3s.), after giving a very outspoken description of the Anglican Church, advocates the idea of Western Orthodoxy. This, we think, is an important sign of the times and will deal with it when we give a Catholic comment on the Orthodox position in the winter issue.

Our plan then in the present issue is as follows :—

From the above comment on some current literature we get an idea of the position of the Orthodox in the Ecumenical Movement.

The following is a review of the first Volume of *Irenikon* studies on the Eastern Schism. This is followed by Fr Dejaifve's account of his recent visit to Greece, which is as a matter of fact an example of the interest a teacher of Eastern theology should take in making ecumenical contact with the Orthodox.

And lastly, 'Ecumenical Comment' is going to be a regular feature of the *E.C.Q.* in future. Mr John Todd has kindly offered to comment twice a year on the ecumenical journals we receive.

THE EDITOR.

1054—1954¹

ON the occasion of the eightieth birthday of Dom Lambert Beauduin, founder of the Benedictine community at Chevetogne (Amay), a number of his friends and fellow-workers in the field of Christian unity have co-operated to produce two largish volumes, of which we already have the first, containing theological and historical studies of the problem of the Great Schism, and a survey of the nine centuries of sorrowful separation between East and West.

Tome I consists of four parts, the first being contributed entirely by Père Yves Congar, o.p., and entitled 'Nine Centuries After'. He deals masterfully with the political, cultural and ecclesiological factors which from an early beginning prepared the ground for separation long before it was realized, and which have served to perpetuate a situation and aggravate it long after both sides have seen it to be intolerable and damaging to the spread of Christian truth. Père Congar has for years written and spoken extensively on the subject of Christian unity, and his wine needs no bush. We must date the origin of the schism right back to the days of Constantine, to whose name we must link that of Mohamed, Charlemagne and the Crusaders. The position of Constantinople towards Rome was to a great extent nourished by the politico-religious thought of emperors and people, and then in the canonico-theological thought of patriarchs and churchmen, concerning the Roman ideology taken over from the Old Rome to the New. The single cell already begins to divide, two political worlds are born, the Byzantine affirming itself the lawful successor of Rome, and the other an empire of Romanized former barbarians, ruled in spiritual things by an apostolic and papal Rome. The rise of Islam, says Père Congar, quoting Henri Pirenne, turned the Mediterranean from being an agent of unity between two Christian worlds into an interrupting Moslem territory, although we must guard against laying the blame for economic changes and a rupture of communications entirely at the door of Islam. Charlemagne has received a great deal of vituperation from Orthodox polemicists, and his coronation in the year 800—so the Catholic historian de Pange tells us—marked, on the part of the pope, an intention of breaking with the Eastern empire.

¹ *L'Eglise et les Eglises*, Etudes offerts à Dom L. Beauduin, Irénikon, Chevetogne, 1954, 240 b.fr. Vol. I.

When we come to the Crusades and the taking of Constantinople by the 'Franks', we find another cause of schism, with hostility and polemic utterance reaching high and low, the Orientals finding good reason to hate the Latins, and the Latins, with the development of ecclesiastical power, canon law, scholasticism, acquiring an indomitable self-confidence, and looking on the Orientals as a rather curious specimen of human life. No wonder, then, that the cry was heard : 'The turban rather than the tiara !'

Cultural factors which made for disunity were languages and rites. In passing it may be mentioned here that liturgiology bears out the contention that the further back we go in history the less divergency there is seen to exist in the rites of the different Apostolic Churches, which of course is not surprising since all these rites derived from the One Last Supper. Languages, however, were an immediate problem for the infant Church, not only because a missionary religion already encountered several, but because languages are always changing and the difficulties of expressing theological notions and of translating them are bound to be great. How are we to translate, for example, the German *Gemüt*, the English *worship*, the French *carrefour*, the Russian *sobornostj*? If we are to trace the causes of schism in this direction, we have to reckon with not only the major cases of *prosopon—hypostasis—substantia*, but the minor ones, such as the fact that 'infallibility' was translated by Greeks and Russians by a word which connoted also impeccability, that Greek has no word for *vicarius* or for 'satisfaction', and that *olitia* means procession as from one principle. Language is a sign of culture, and on account of their languages the Greeks were accused of an excessive subtlety, and the Latins were looked down upon as devoid of real thought. As to the rites, in early centuries there existed a healthy pluralism whereby one could pass easily from East to West, from country to country, encountering certain divergencies of rite and using different languages. Right up until the Council of Florence the possibility of one united Church having more than one rite or custom was recognized. But there came a time when a rite ceased to be a custom and became a thing in itself, an entity, an effect of separation, it became, much more in the East than in the West, almost indistinguishable from the Faith, while the analytic Western mind regarded it largely as a minor matter of rubrics.

Theological method and doctrinal conceptions differing in East and West grew wider as from the twelfth century, when

a change of outlook in Western thought and the advent of scholasticism seemed to erect fresh barriers, concerning which we have read so much in the criticisms of Catholicism by nineteenth century slavophiles. Alongside the traditional, contemplative, liturgical and monastic theological method, grows up and eventually takes first place the method of the university, a fact symbolized by the exodus of Abelard from the cloister of Notre Dame to Sainte-Geneviève: religious rationalism comes to the fore, the need for definition becomes paramount, the West has need to define, the East has need not to do so, the West prefers the way of affirmation, the East that of negation. From now on the besetting temptation for Catholics is to combine a catholicity of intention with a latinization of fact: to identify in practice part of Christian tradition with the tradition itself. The temptation for Orientals is to identify true Christianity, not only with the Orthodox Church, but oriental and national forms as such.

At least as far back as the peace of Constantine there have existed two ecclesiastical worlds. Already in 342 the Council of Sardica was an indication of the opposition between the two, and the Arian crisis was an example of the differing pre-occupations and differing methods of reasoning among Orientals and Occidentals. There even comes a time when two parallel councils are held, there comes a period when Rome and Constantinople get accustomed and habituated to keeping distant from each other. Reactions were different when confronted with fifth century heresies, Pelagianism, Nestorianism, Monophysitism: the East tended to be more favourable to Monophysitism, the West to Nestorianism, the one showing this attitude in a rich and mysterious liturgy, bringing heaven down to earth, the other in a more sober liturgy, directed towards the edification of man and his moral needs. In the time of Charlemagne the *Filioque* is imposed on the churches of the Empire, and the *Per Filium* forbidden, an action which Kholmakov and others christened 'moral fratricide' and dated as the beginning of the Schism. And yet Pope Leo III at this time caused two shields to be laid before the tomb of St Peter, bearing the Creed, the one Latin, the other Greek, without the word *Filioque*!

'Progressive estrangement' is the term we should use to describe relations between Rome and Constantinople, an estrangement which is illustrated by isolated incidents in church history. Two ecclesiologies spring from two ecclesiastical worlds, and two methods of theological thought

develop as a result of external influences. The East has in the past recognized the primacy of Rome, not perhaps in the exact sense of Catholic apologists, but certainly much more than Orthodox of to day will admit. And yet a consciousness of the Roman primacy has never been quite clearly expressed in the East : the primacy of the Apostle Peter, the recognition of Rome as the *prima sedes*, the function of the First of the Patriarchs to sum up the faith of the universal Church, these are doctrines taught by Fathers of the Eastern Church, while, at the same time, the right for Rome to regulate the interior discipline of other churches is not so clearly acknowledged. At Rome, on the other hand, the power to promulgate definitive judgements was always claimed, and in different contacts with the East, Rome always held to that position, but when the popes of the fifth century addressed themselves to the oriental bishops, they did not do so in the same tone in which they addressed the bishops of Italy and the West : to the latter they spoke in decrees, to the former as to their their brethren and associates.

Père Congar mentions the work of Grumel, Jugie, Amann and Dvornik on the patriarch Photius, and says that his impression throughout is that each of the two sides takes its stand in the name of a theology of the Church, its unity, its regime and the conditions of its communion. Human estrangement, as it were, arrived at its climax in Photius. The rôle of Cerularius remains decisive, but we can no more explain the Oriental schism by his personal ambition than we can explain the Reformation by Luther's wish to abandon the religious life.

In his conclusion Père Congar asks what is the concrete substance of the Oriental schism, and what are we to do about it ? To the first question he answers : there are wrongs on both sides, but they are not equal, any more than in a quarrel between father and son. Authority can be wrong, but it is never fundamentally wrong ; *on peut avoir contre elle de bonnes raisons, on n'a jamais raison contre elle.* Elle possède la justification fondamentale, structurale, de la légitimité et du droit, and therefore, objectively, the Greeks rather than the Latins are to be called schismatics, and that is why Catholics cannot represent union as anything other than a reunion with the Holy See. To the second question he answers : it is all very well to say with A. d'Avril, 'We must not let the Orientals think that they are tolerated, with their diversities, as a tiresome necessity. The Catholic Church loves them for what they are, and does not

wish them otherwise—but this must be made true in practice. Rapprochement is an indispensable preparation for reunion, for it is the undoing of the former estrangement, and this rapprochement is to be psychological and spiritual, before it comes to be canonical and diplomatic, it must seek to recreate the *mutual affinity* of the two Churches by the way of confidence and real understanding.

At this point we must turn back to Dom Olivier Rousseau's Introduction, where he tells us that the question of reunion has at no previous epoch in church history been so keenly studied as at the present day. Biblical scholars, patrologues, theologians, medievalists, writers on church history and on asceticism, liturgists, canonists, philosophers, ecumenicists, all seem to have 'something to say' in the matter. We have advanced towards a conception of the Church which is less juridical and more spiritual, we have attempted to develop a more eschatological outlook, we are living in days which have seen an astonishing softening of post-Tridentine rigour, especially under Pope Pius XII who has given us a new Latin psalter, has mitigated the age-long eucharistic fast, and has restored in all its primitive splendour the ceremony of the Easter Vigil, in which we rightly see the influence of the Orthodox liturgy celebrated in our countries since the Russian emigration.

Dom Rousseau does not hesitate to give credit to the Tractarian movement in England for planting the seed of 'unionism' in the Church of England, and indirectly, in the other Protestant Churches—this was not necessarily considered in terms of reunion with the Holy See, but was something more general, it was a leaven which was slowly to ferment and bring about, for example, such practical consequences as the Faith and Order movement: Christians of all kinds of persuasion now seek in all possible ways a principle of visible unity.

A short article on the 'Unity of the Apostolic Body in the New Testament' by Canon L. Cerfaux of Louvain begins Part II, in which we read that the harmony and unity of the apostolic body derives from the very meaning of apostleship: the apostle is purely an instrument in the hands of God; the divine activity overshadows human activity and imposes upon it its own characteristic, a unity of principle and of aim. The apostolic college was founded in unity and for unity, and the unity of the Church is that unity writ large.

Dom Jacques Dupont treats of 'Schism according to St Paul.' He first of all recalls the great crises which threatened the

unity of the primitive Church, and then sets out the views and judgement of St Paul upon the dissensions at Corinth in such a way as to assemble the elements of a theological 'appreciation' of schism. Especially interesting is what is called the eschatological significance of schism.

Père Daniélou writes on the notion ΜΙΑ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ in the Greek Fathers : Clement of Rome, like St Paul, speaks of a Body, Ignatius of Antioch of musical concord, but the expression μία ἐκκλησία where it occurs seems connected with the 'house' theme, as in I Peter, Hermas, Irenaeus, and in the Elenchos : 'the one and only house where the pasch shall be eaten'. The essential theme of the μία ἐκκλησία is the necessity of belonging to the Church in order to share in the riches of Christ. Christ is one, and his house is one, and there alone is salvation found. In Origen the different but similar theme of the house of Rahab appears, and 'all those who are in the house shall be saved'—it is at this stage that we encounter for the first time in Christian tradition the statement that 'there is no salvation outside the Church', which was to be emphasized later by Cyprian. The early Church envisaged Christian unity not as deriving from the Body of Christ so much as from the visible organization of the Church on earth, official herald of divine revelation and channel of divine grace. Irenaeus underlines the diversity of opinions held by the Gnostics, and contrasts them with the faith of the One Church. Clement of Alexandria, fond as he was of speculation and theological opinion, significantly exclaims that the unity of the One Church is not just a disciplinary necessity but an article of faith. Irenaeus with his realism conceives the Church as founded upon the unity of God's plan, Clement with his exemplarism conceives visible things as an image of the invisible : the unity of the Church is an image of the unity of God, the Church cannot ever be other than One. The Church is logically anterior to the members which go to form it, it is not the result but the cause of Christian unity, it is an existing reality into which we have to be incorporated, it is the One Church, it is the Old Church. Later writers will insist more on an eschatological unity, but the early Greek patrology did otherwise.

To oppose the Greek conception of the Church as a mystical reality to the Latin as a juridical body is to ignore the teaching of the Greek Fathers, for it was from them that the Latins, Cyprian, Augustine and the others borrowed their themes on the visible unity of the Church : the best way of expressing

the nature of the Church is the sacramental principle which shows the necessary link between the visible sign and the hidden reality, a principle as dear to the West as to the East.

Dom Théodore Strotmann in his 'Conflict between Angels and Men', the ultimate cause of schisms according to patristic theology, deals with interpretations of the parables of the lost sheep, the lost groat, and more particularly, the prodigal son. This is a specially interesting paper, since it covers a seldom trodden ground. The prodigal son represents the sinner, his father represents God, but who is the elder son? Cyril of Alexandria mentions the opinion of some who take the younger son as the human race, and the elder as the angelic world, but Cyril himself finds it hard to equate angels to an elder son so unangelic in his sentiments, but it would seem that the parable does call to mind an episode of the 'scandal of the cross' in heaven 'in the presence of the angels'. It is not necessary to think of them as rebel angels, but of the angels in their time of testing, not yet established in charity, stupified and in disorder before the 'infinite richness of the grace of God by his goodness towards us in Jesus Christ'. We must link this idea with our Lord's remark about Satan falling from heaven. Theophanes Cerameus, archbishop of Rossano in Calabria in the twelfth century, interprets the parable in this way: it is a conflict between angels and men, the angels being angry with men ever since the fall of Adam, and the Incarnation of the Word making peace between angels and men, breaking down the wall of separation. St Thomas mentions this interpretation and cites St Chrysostom as not knowing whether to reject it or not. Theophylactus speaks of it as a much disputed question, preferring the more obvious equation of the elder son with the righteous who have no need for repentance.

Père Maurice Pontet, s.j., writes on the 'Notion of Schism in St Augustine', what it is, how it differs from heresy, and how it should be healed.

Part III of the volume is devoted to the History and Relations of the ancient Metropolitan Sees. Canon Bardy writes authoritatively on Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople in the period A.D. 325-451, Dom Hilaire Marot on the Roman Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries and the development of the Primacy, M. Charles Moeller of the University of Louvain on the Schisms at the time of the early Councils, and Dom Amand de Mendieta on relations between the Churches of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and

Caesarea in Cappadocia, entitling his paper 'Damasus, Athanasius, Peter, Meletius and Basil'.

Part IV : Pater Emil Herman, s.j., of the Pontifical Oriental Institute writes on 'Deposition and Abdication of Patriarchs of Constantinople', Abbot Capelle on Pope Leo III and the Filioque clause, Professor Dvornik on Benedictines and the Christianization of Russia, Professor Anton Michel under the untranslatable title *Schisma und Kaiserhof* in 1054, a paper of considerable length, Professor Oscar Halecki of Fordham on Rome, Constantinople and Moscow at the time of the Union of Brest, and Professor Pierre Kovalevsky, of the Orthodox Institute in Paris on the Russian Church in 1054.

Space unfortunately has not permitted the giving of a complete digest of Volume I of *L'Eglise et les Eglises*, and many of these writers have not received the exposition which they rightly deserve. We are awaiting Volume II daily, but in the meantime this summary may perhaps, both by what it says and still more by what it omits, convince the instructed Christian that the publication, despite its price, is a real investment.

Finally, we would add that such a publication, a birthday gift for Dom Lambert Beauduin, the man who lit a spark which has become a blazing fire in the hearts of Christians everywhere, is one of the finest tributes which his friends could make him.

DOM R. GREGORY REES.

THE REVIVAL OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH¹

WESTERN CATHOLICS have hardly any opportunity for forming a clear idea of living Orthodoxy. Those little groups of the Orthodox Church, with which from time to time, they come into contact, are nearly always a part of the Diaspora, which is in the main Slavonic; now these exiles rarely succeed in revealing to their brothers of the Latin Church the true countenance of the Orthodox, however much they try. Besides the precarious conditions amid which they are constrained to lead their ecclesiastical life, the reason for this difficulty is that they themselves, if they wish to explain their faith to us, 'situate' it in reference to ourselves, and the effect of this in our eyes is to accentuate their divergences from us. If every exotic plant when transferred into a foreign land loses some of its own native qualities, it is in addition bound to astonish the onlooker who mentally compares the exotic growth with the indigenous and judges of it without making any reference to its natural environment.

To understand Orthodoxy one must go and watch it at home. Last autumn I had the good fortune to be able to do this during the course of several months' travel in Greece. After such a short stay one can bring back little more than impressions; if a foreigner hesitates to pass judgement on another people even after having been familiar with them for many years, what am I to say of the passing guest seeking to lay bare all that is deepest and most impenetrable in the soul of a nation, that is to say its living religion? The only excuse for such boldness is the urgent need which exists for us to know each other in order that we may have a better opinion of each other and, so help each other more. In a world where Christian values are in dire peril, the great cause of union demands that we should communicate our mutual experiences, however limited these may be.

If one wants to appreciate a picture one has to place oneself in the perspective chosen by the artist himself; to judge truly of contemporary Orthodoxy one must share in the vision, the 'Anschaung', which our Eastern brethren have of the

¹ The Summer issue of the *E.C.Q.* 1950 was devoted to a study of the Church of Greece; the articles were all written either by Greeks or in one case by an Englishman who had spent some two years at the University of Thessaloniki. The present article are the impressions of a well-informed visitor.—THE EDITOR.

mystery of the Church, and only according to this vision can we appreciate the concrete position of that church, just as one judges of a religion by its Credo.

It has often been noted that the Eastern Church is inclined to stress the eschatological aspect of Christianity ; by this is meant that the Orthodox pay less attention to present conditions, to the terrestrial 'situation' of our Christian life than to its final consummation ; it is less inclined to see the Church marching through the world than it is to consider the Kingdom of God which is to come and which is, from this very moment, our hope.

Generally speaking this observation seems to us to be just and undeniable. The vision of glory which the Church evokes in our Orthodox brethren is in fact revealed in their religious art and, in particular, in the very style of their sacred buildings. It is only necessary to enter a Byzantine church for one to sense, at once, the change in atmosphere : you are not penetrating into the ark, or the tabernacle of the desert, but into God's palace. Before ever you enter, the very architecture warns you that this is so. In Greece and Constantinople we find no lofty naves, so common in our own countries, over which steeples soar like masts pointing towards heaven and reminding us of the transitory character of Christ's Church, the bark of Peter sailing across the seas of this world ; on the contrary, we find a solid building looking no further than itself, whose square or basilica design surmounted by a single or multiple cupolas calls forth by this geometrical representation of the union of heaven and earth a symbolic image of the whole Universe. This architectural form which one finds again and again, exactly the same, whether in the sixth century 'great church' of Constantinople or, at Salonika in the later and small ones with the Greek cross of the fourteenth century, is not arbitrary ; it fulfils a theological intention. In what proved to be the classic manual of religious iconography for Byzantine art, the '*μυστικὴ θεωπλάσια*' of the pseudo-Germanos of Constantinople, one finds this description of the church as a building : 'The church is the earthly heaven where the God of heaven lives and moves'.²

This conception seems to be entirely in conformity with patristic thought ; 'paradise upon earth' as the Greek fathers loved to repeat, the Church considered as a society at first suggests to an Orthodox the glorious community of the elect,

² Ἐκκλησία δούτιν ἐπίγεος οὐρανὸς ἐκ τῷ δὲ ἐπιφάνειος θεὸς ἔρουει καὶ εμπειρισταῖ (P.G. 98, 384).

in so far as this is anticipated in the liturgical community, and it is for this reason that he sees it as being above all represented—that is to say made present—in the act of worship called *λειτουργία*, by which he means the holy sacrifice of the Mass. But whereas for a member of the Western Church the eucharistic sacrifice is envisaged before all as an actualization of Calvary and a means of communicating sacramentally with Christ immolated, the Oriental sees in the ceremonies of the Leitourgia the service itself of the great King, both an anticipation of and a participation in the celestial liturgy. It is homage paid to the victorious Lamb rather than a commemoration of His sacrifice ; is it not just this which one feels at one of the most solemn moments of the Byzantine liturgy, in the rite of the grand Entry, when the assembled faithful seem to be an incarnation of the glorious vision of the Apocalypse ?

When the Eastern Christian takes part in the sacred mysteries he does indeed associate himself with the choirs of the court of heaven, sharing in some sort the life of eternity. Consider the soul of this sumptuous liturgy, enriched with all that Byzantine ceremonial can achieve : is it not, in fact, the Christian mysticism of antiquity, flooded by the splendours of the other world, that antiquity when the first Christians, united for the eucharistic synaxis, lived the mystery of the Church in the expectation of an imminent Parousia, and sang the beautiful prayer which the Didache attests : ‘Let grace come and this world pass away’¹³ In view of this it is understandable that Orthodoxy, ever faithful to ancient traditions, prefers to think of the Church as a liturgical community, exercising to the full its special mission of sanctifying both man and the Universe.

If this is the case, then the problem of sanctifying Christian life will be viewed, by the Orthodox as well as by ourselves, in terms of religious practice ; in a way the problem will be even more crucial for them than it is for us, especially if it is true that the Eastern Church uses the *leitourgia* as the chief, if not the essential, means of its spiritual pedagogy.

¹³ Ελθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὐτος (Didache x, 6). I have never been so gripped by this impression of eschatological triumph as I was at a funeral service in the metropolitan church of Salonika : what joyful—almost victorious—accents were there in a liturgy which reflected paschal joy rather than the tears of the living ! Doubtless our Latin liturgy of the dead abounds in consolation both in Gospel and Preface, but the accents of the *Dies Irae* and the *Libera me*, with the sombre perspective of Judgement, play a much greater rôle in creating an atmosphere of dread and sorrow.

In this respect it is not easy to arrive at a reasonably well-defined idea of religious practice in Greece; for want of precise statistics one is reduced to conjectures based upon indirect testimony. One of the chief pastoral concerns of the Greek clergy is attendance at the Sunday liturgy and participation in the sacraments: from this may one not conclude that, just as in some our great cities in the West, church-attendance is not all that it should be? The reasons for this new state of affairs are obvious. The sad effects of the second world war and civil war, with their train of wretchedness and poverty, all this and the fatal influence of Communist propaganda seem to have alienated a good part of the urban population from the practice of their religion. These latter are in any case a prey to practical materialism, viewed by some as a fatal product, together with its techniques and standard of life, imported from the West.

The answer to this state of affairs lies in a zealous and well-trained clergy, competent to fill its pastoral charge in a world of social and cultural upheaval. But it is precisely here where the need is greatest. Mgr Spiridon himself, the Orthodox Archbishop of Athens, has pointed out the fact of this deficit on two recent occasions, in October 1951, at the ninety-seventh session of the Holy Synod,⁴ and in February 1952, at the special Assembly of the Greek hierarchy:⁵ for the whole century since the Greek Church regained its liberty, there is not yet a well-formed clergy. The priests from the majority of the seminaries are insufficiently trained; while some are ordained after only two months' preparation.⁶ The main reason for this, according to Mgr Spiridon is the narrow, paralyzing supervision imposed by a State indifferent to religious questions, negligent in its subsidies and oblivious to the need of religion in the national life.⁷

⁴ See 'Εκκλησία, official bulletin of the Church of Greece, 1951, nov. 1.

⁵ 'Εκκλησία 1952, februar 15 and march 15. See also Irenikon, xxv, 1952, pp. 61, 173 and the Dutch period. *Het christelyk Oosten en Hereniging*, 1952, v, 2, pp. 138-9.

⁶ Mr Keramidas, director of the review *Enoria* (Parish), repeats this pessimistic appraisal. According to him, of the 7,150 Orthodox priests in the Kingdom, nearly nine per cent have an education so rudimentary that they can scarcely read correctly the liturgical texts. Perhaps the picture is deliberately exaggerated, but the situation would yet be no less tragic. (Cf. *Het christelyk Oosten en Her.*, 1952, iv, 4, pp. 296-7.)

⁷ One should recall the fact that in the northern part of the country more than 600 parishes are without priests, and that more than 800 churches were destroyed by the war. The financial problem remains, needless to say, one of the factors explaining this apathy on the part of the State, but it is not the sole factor.

The Revival of the Greek Orthodox Church 17

To meet this deficiency which so menaces the salvation of souls, a new official agency has been organized in the Greek Church, the '*Apostoliki Diakonia*' (Service of the Mission). Though founded before the war, it was not officially recognized until 1946; but under the dynamic direction of Mr Vellas, a lay professor at the University of Athens, it has already achieved considerable results in practically every aspect of the church's life.

Its most successful project in the line of reform among the clergy was the establishment of a school of theology at the ancient monastery of Moni Petraki in Athens, where it enrolled 120 theology students in 1951, and 150 in 1952. But this is, of course, only a beginning. What is further needed is an improvement in the academic status of the Church's Theological Institutes and an increase in the number of theology students at the Universities of Athens and Salоника.⁸ For it is only these schools that can provide the necessary degree of intellectual culture which the clergy should combine with a solid spiritual and priestly formation for the purposes of their pastoral work.

In comparison with the urgent need for missionary work,⁹ the number of priestly vocations is sadly inadequate. The financial situation of the average parish priest is quite deficient and hardly calculated to attract youthful recruits.¹⁰ In spite of the zeal and real ability of many bishops and parish priests (particularly in Athens, Salоника and other large centres) the clergy in general feel unequal to the task confronting it. Thus, the Church must turn, for the solution of its most urgent problems, to the laity.

To this call the laity has rallied with admirable loyalty. Its considerable part in the conduct of purely ecclesiastical affairs may surprise us, but in the Orthodox Church this is

⁸ Besides the former theology school in Athens, the Rhizarion (named for its founder), there were in 1947, only seven Institutes of Theology (analogous to our major seminaries). Of the 7,150 members of the clergy, there were but 100 with degrees and only 270 had finished their ecclesiastical studies at the Rhizarion or at a similar Institute. (Cf. the review *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxvii, 1947, pp. 184-5, from which we take these figures.)

⁹ In 1951, when Mgr Spiridon appealed to his clergy of Athens for a mission in the north of the Kingdom, nearly fifty archimandrites were sent into Macedonia and there visited 450 villages and hamlets, celebrating the liturgy and administering the sacraments to a people that was practically abandoned. The priests were generally well received; but it does not seem that this initiative was resumed in the following years.

¹⁰ It is an unfortunate fact that in 1953, eighty-four boys discontinued their studies in the preparatory theological schools (analogous to our minor seminaries). (Cf. *Intern. Kirchl. Zeit.*, xliv, 1954, p. 23.)

more or less natural.¹¹ Its 'people' exercise apostolic functions to a much greater extent than do the laity of the Latin Church. This co-operation by the laity is especially remarkable in the office of preaching, which is largely handled by lay theologians. But since the State officially subsidizes only about thirty of these men, the great demand for good preachers is hardly met.

This, then, is the second need that the Apostoliki Diakonia is endeavouring to fill: the training of good lay preachers. By 1951 it had already provided about sixty of them, as Mr Vellas noted in his report, at the general meeting of Greek theologians, in June 1951;¹² and their number has certainly increased since then. These itinerant lay preachers are accomplishing a difficult task, but a fruitful one for the Christian reconquest of Greece. By their missions and conferences in practically every village and countryside, by their radio talks, over the Athens and regional facilities, by their publication, in the Apostoliki Diakonia's '*O Εφημέριος*' (The parish priest) of sermon samples and outlines for the clergy, they are effectively contributing to a spiritual reawakening of the masses. And they are instilling in their weaker brethren a pride in their faith and a courage to live it wholeheartedly.

All this activity, however, is not the only sector where the Service of the Mission is engaged. For it reserves a special interest for work among the young. It has provided for the erection of schools for both the training of catechists and the teaching of catechism.¹³ These schools, under an administration that follows the methods of modern pedagogy, numbered 1,300 at the end of 1951, with an enrolment of 120,000 pupils.

This oral instruction finds its completion and extension in the Press. This latter offers periodicals for the various walks of life, such as *τὸ χαρούμενο Σπίτι* (The Happy Home) for the family, *τὰ χαρούμενα παιδία* (The Happy Children) for the young and '*O Εφημέριος*' (The parish priest) for the clergy. It is responsible for an edition of the liturgical texts, such as '*Ἄωρολόγιον μέγα*' (The large breviary). Many parish libraries have also been set up.

On the plane of Social Assistance and Parish Works, let us note here a successful initiative on the part of the Diakonia:

¹¹ The directorship by a layman of such an ecclesiastical concern as the Apostoliki Diakonia is a striking example of this, especially so since the Hierarchy has appointed him to this task and has several times since asked him to continue in it.

¹² *Ἐκκλησία*, 1951, dec. 1, t. XXVIII, no. 23, p. 269.

¹³ Ib. See also *Het christ. Oost. en Her.*, 1952, V, 2, pp. 142-3.

the erection of an order of Deaconesses, auxiliaries to the clergy. Due to their theological and pastoral formation, these latter are able to bring the charity of Christ and the truth of His Gospel to those who cannot be reached by the clergy.

All these works show clearly how dynamic is this Institution which, within the ten years of its existence, has accomplished so much to kindle in the Church of Greece its missionary spirit.

Up to now, we have only spoken of the Apostoliki Diakonia—the most recent official Institution of the Greek Church. There are many others, which, though possessing only unofficial or semi-official status have been working for a long time and with equal success in the Lord's vineyard.

Among these apostolic groups, the first place belongs uncontestedly to the Fraternity known as *Zōή* (Life). Founded more than forty years ago, by an Archimandrite, F. Eusebios Matthopoulos, this kind of religious Institute comprises both priests and laymen—for the most part graduate theologians—who, living in common, and vowed to a life of perfection, are engaged in the active apostolate. My visits to their centres at Athens and Salonika have made a most vivid impression upon me. I shall never forget the sight of these hives of industry, ruled by a spirit of mutual help and spiritual emulation, in which are formed apostles of rare quality.¹⁴ These men whose attainment in the field of culture is matched only by their high degree of Christian conviction are the undoubtedly élite of the Orthodox laity.

This Fraternity, though small in numbers—there are only about one hundred active members—has from its inception aimed at nothing less than a spiritual crusade comprising all of Greece. It has laid the groundwork for nearly all those undertakings which the Apostoliki Diakonia has but continued and organized on a much vaster scale. Among these are schools for catechists, Sunday schools—these numbered 1,700 during the year 1952-3 with an enrolment of 150,000 pupils—sermons and lectures for all classes of society, the publication of periodical literature, their own weekly *Zōή* (circulation 150,000), popular editions of the Old and New Testament, of the *Leitourgia*, scientific works and various pamphlets of an apologetic nature for the educated laity.

The *Zōī* finds its counterpart for women in the movement known as 'Eυσέβεια (Piety). The members of this organization

¹⁴ One's respect for the formation given by the *Zōī* to its members is enhanced by meeting such eminent persons as the present Superior, Prof. Trembelas of the University of Athens. Those who have heard him assured me that one of his sermons is the equal of any retreat.

exercise their ministry in analogous fields. They work among women connected with the University world, with nursing sisters (Society of St Eunice), among the working class and with professional groups.

Despite the fact that this autonomous movement is not so closely connected with the Hierarchy as the Apostoliki Diakonia, it is none the less a most devoted instrument of the Church. It has played and continued to play a rôle of major importance in the evangelization of modern Greece. As a result of its spiritual influence, there have appeared a whole flock of Christian associations whose aim it is to permeate all walks of family and social life with the spirit of the Gospel. Here are but a few of these organizations : *The Christian Union of Professional Men*; with its monthly review '*Akrites*' (the Rays), an organ of high intellectual and literary qualities; *The Association of Christian Students*, the most important in Greece with its 2,500 active members (under the presidency of Pr. Bratsiotis of the University of Athens) and its influence in the Universities; *The Parents' Union* and that of *The Christian Educators*; *The Union of Young Workers* with the technical school '*The Apostle Paul*' at Piraeus . . .

In fact, in this last section, that devoted to the youth, there has been active for many years a group more vast and more important *The Christian Orthodox Unions*, directed with great zeal and competence by F. Angelos Nissiotis, pastor of one of the parishes in the centre of Athens, Zoodochos Pigi. Due to the initiative of a priest from the parish of St Catherine, F. Marcos Tsactanis, who founded in that parish the first Sunday schools back in 1913, this movement analogous to our Catholic Action has experienced a marvellous development between the two wars and has taken on a whole series of various tasks which bear witness to its Christian vitality and to its eagerness to adapt itself to the needs of to-day's apostolate. Among its works are student groups, workers' clubs, organizations for leisure (summer camps, pilgrimages) corporal and spiritual works of mercy, interconfessional and ecumenical activity,¹⁵ and, of course, the Press which is the necessary accompaniment of any solid and continued form of action : such as the periodicals *Kairos* (The New Creation)

¹⁵ Those who frequent ecumenical circles are aware of the splendid witness the group of Orthodox Youth bears to their faith and of the zeal it shows in all the important activities of the Greek Church. It is to the Association of Christian Students that we owe the publication of the fine ecumenical Symposium 'Paulus-Hellas-Oikumene' (Athens 1951), on the occasion of the anniversary of St Paul's arrival in Greece.

and Παιδική χαρά (Happy Childhood). These are only a few of the forms which are taken on by an apostolic movement which mobilizes the main forces of Christian youth and which holds out the highest hope for the future.

This revival, not to say exuberance of apostolic activity and various organizations makes it quite evident that we are witnessing an awakening on the part of the Church in Greece. Faced by a pagan world, confronted by doctrines or adversaries which threaten the ruin of its Christian inheritance, Greek Orthodoxy has taken cognizance of the task which awaits it. By the same token the Greek Church has become conscious of herself as a Church, and thanks to a unique experience she has learned a lesson which her earlier history had not taught her. By little and little she has come to detach herself from the tutelage of the State and to rely upon herself instead. For her enemy is now within, viz. this very State to which by the force of events the Church has linked her fate and upon which she relies for the means of action. Now if Caesar were to become pagan and to claim the right of making Church law, there would be nothing to do but throw off the yoke and thus regain freedom of action. Deprived of the external help of a Christian State, in which up till now she has been able to do her spiritual work, hindered in her religious activities by a secularized government, which is sometimes frankly hostile, the Greek Church is reliving in her fashion the old struggle between Church and State. If she does not want to betray the trust of the faithful by preferring the security and slavery of Egypt to the appeal and risks of the Promised Land, she will have to create her own external body and her own means of action which will in the long run render her totally independent of the power which has up till now held her with an iron grip.

Thus she will unfailingly discover the institutional aspect of the Church, the militant character of the people of God here below, set apart from among the nations and fighting the fight of the faith, under the leadership of its own generals, to conquer the world for Christ.

This experience, from which she derives both good and ill effects,¹⁶ leads her surely, if somewhat shyly, to us. We see

¹⁶ One of the most lamented incidents of State interference was in the calendar controversy. When the Official Church adopted the new calendar for obvious reasons of convenience, a schism broke out among clergy and laity. The State, whose duty it was to support the decisions of the Holy Synod, secretly, for political reasons, supported the paleimeroologists (partisans of the old Julian calendar). Finally, the archbishop of Athens had to have recourse to the secular arm to quell the recalcitrants. The result was general damage to the peace of souls. We know in the West, since the days of the Donatists, what the consequences are when the Church resorts to police methods in order to settle her affairs.

evidence of this in the interest she takes in the pastoral work of the Latin Church, its methods and institutions. She sends her priests, lay theologians, deacons and deaconesses into Germany, Belgium and especially France, that they may witness at firsthand the ministry of Confession,¹⁷ catechetical work, evangelization and even the liturgical movement. Nor does she disdain the use of Western Christian philosophy and apologetics as a means of answering more effectively those questions raised by the modern mind which she cannot afford any longer merely to ignore. Her professors and theologians encounter no difficulties in adapting themselves to the Western Catholic university milieu; their desire to make lasting and profitable contacts is very evident.

But the Greek Church has not forgotten all her prejudices against Roman Catholicism. She never ceases to fear the infiltration of what she chooses to term 'Vatican politics'. Nor does she understand any better the spiritual rôle and function of the Papacy. Finally, she finds Catholic proselytizing extremely obnoxious, and detests, above all, the Uniate movement which she believes can only result in a schism more permanent than ever.

The Catholic Church, with its aspect of statism and its uniformity, seems to the Greek Orthodox to leave little play to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit of Pentecost. The Oriental neither understands this Catholic spirit of obedience nor can reconcile it with his own conception of Christian freedom; it is simply an enigma. Thus, despite his cordial personal relationships with individual Catholic friends, he sees no chance in the near future of a reconciliation with Rome. For him, uncompromising loyalty to the Orthodox Church is inevitably bound up with antipathy toward the Roman Church.

I was particularly struck by this fact during my visit to Mount Athos. Still called 'the citadel of Orthodoxy', Mount Athos continues even to-day to exercise from its spiritual heights a permanent, preserving and conserving influence on the faith and piety of the Orthodox people.¹⁸ Though warmly

¹⁷ If frequent confession is not in favour among the Greeks, undoubtedly the principal reason is the lack of good confessors. This is due to the generally inadequate theological and pastoral formation of the clergy. Quite conceivably it is also responsible for the extreme rarity of Holy Communions.

¹⁸ Here too, even on the sacred mountain, the dearth of monastic vocations is felt. I found it sad to come face-to-face with emptiness, where once, not so very long ago, were the flourishing monasteries of St Panteleimon or Chilandar. Without a doubt the renaissance of Greek monasticism has been given something of a push by the action of the Holy Epistasia which is devoting so much effort to nurturing the promising 'Athonic School'; but, with things going as they are now, it will still require a miracle to ward off eventual annihilation.



St Peter and St Paul
at Vatopedi on Mount Athos



received, the Roman Catholic visitor cannot fail to perceive immediately from a thousand different indications, the instinctive prejudice of the Greek monks against the Latin Church (but is it really a personal conviction or a tradition?). Except for rare cases the same must be said of the lower clergy taken as a group.¹⁹ My personal impression is that practically every case of this antipathy can be explained in good part, besides traditional routine, by either ignorance or misunderstanding. There is ample proof of this in the fact that when Latin educators, both men and women religious, devoted to a thankless task devoid of human consolation, come in contact with the Orthodox people, the latter lose their prejudices within a generation's time. With some more cultured groups there have even been wholesale reversals of spirit. Then too, those virulent attacks, coming as they often do from rather prominent persons, on Catholic proselytism (which is, useless to say, not very free in its movements, wrapped, as it is, in the strait-jacket of Greek laws) would seem to indicate that the discreet testimony of selfless, consecrated lives does have its influence among Greek milieus, unadmitted though it be.

To-day, however, the Greek Church suffers from growing pains—a ever-recurring phenomenon in the life of the Church which, it seems to me, is highly significant for the future. The fate of Orthodoxy rests entirely in her hands; for she alone enjoys that necessary freedom denied her sister churches. She, too, is the sole heiress of the magnificent Greek patristic tradition and she better than anyone can penetrate its profundities, reap its riches. She stands now at the proverbial crossroads, confronted with a problem she alone has the power to solve: the universality of the Apostolic Church and its ecumenical mission on earth.

¹⁹ Let us hope that this 'denominational' antipathy will soon give room to a mutual understanding and openness which is the mark of Christian relations. Why not recount here a personal experience of mine? I was just leaving Moni Petraki, after a visit to the Apostoliki Diakonia, when I was accosted on Queen Sophia Avenue by an aged and venerable *varás*. Having quickly spotted my Roman collar and clerical garb, he asked: *Γερμανός;* (German?). As I answered with the typical abruptness of a linguistic novice: "Όχι, βέλγος" (No, Belgian), he replied immediately with a spontaneous smile: "Αδελφός εν χριστῷ" (My brother in Christ") and embraced me.

Later, as I contemplated at Vatopedi on Mount Athos that beautiful fresco which depicts Peter and Paul in a warm embrace, I recalled this fraternal greeting inspired by a Christian spirit of love as much as by the proverbial *φιλανθρωπία* of the Greek soul and, despite myself I saw in it the pledge of a promise.

The solution depends on her didascals, her apostles and, in part also, on her prophets. To see their honest efforts and toil, to be a witness to their intellectual stature and the growing influence of their universities, is to be tempted to believe that the Greek Church will choose the path to the Oikumene. God grant that, as she opens her frontiers during the difficult struggle to preserve for Christ the souls of her naturally pious people, she will lift her eyes, once and for ever, to those horizons which Christ opens to all Christians, horizons that only terminate with the boundaries of the earth.

G. DEJAIFVE, S.J.

ECUMENICAL COMMENT

DR MATHIAS LAROS, leader of the *Una Sancta* movement in Germany, provides us with a formula for ecumenical activity. We should work, he suggests, to build a creative peace between Christians of different confessions in three ways :

1. Reciprocal *respect* of the churches for each other, a respect which becomes an integral part of their own spiritual lives and activities.
2. Mutual *love* for each other, so that they are constantly searching for that which makes for peace rather than what inspires discord.
3. Mutual *exchange* of ideas and spiritual developments.

It is with this formula in mind that I shall be making some comment from time to time under the above heading. I write personally as a Catholic layman. Behind the formula, there lie also the various instructions from Rome as to how Catholics shall approach the ecumenical movement, and these too will be guiding me. It may be as well to make the point here that Catholics are certainly expected and encouraged by Rome to take cognizance of the movement. And if we are to get anywhere with it, we must engage in a dialogue with other Christians in the movement. I write then not in any attempt to confute, but as part of a conversation, in hope of an answer, to which again I can reply.

In *Theology* (S.P.C.K.) for October the editorial refers to *Du Protestantisme à l'Eglise* by the French theologian, Père Louis Bouyer, of the Oratorian Fathers. The opening paragraph is a model of ecumenical writing : 'Some years ago we called attention to a book about Christian reunion by Professor Karl

Adams (*One and Holy*), concerning which we said that he showed a warm and patently sincere sympathy with Protestants and that his appreciation of the personality and witness of Luther was much more positive and profound than that of many Protestants themselves. The same and more can be said of *Du Protestantisme à l'Eglise*, by Père Louis Bouyer, which is a very remarkable essay on the whole Reformation movement. Père Bouyer has the advantage that he was himself a Protestant pastor before he entered the Roman Catholic Church, and he would claim not to have denied his earlier faith but to have brought it with him to where it belongs.'

This is an exact summary of the book's thesis. The editorial continues to outline it in more detail. Père Bouyer says that the positive affirmations of the Reformers, *sola gratia*, *sola fide*, *soli Deo gloria*, and the supremacy of scripture, were primarily rediscoveries of the Catholic tradition, and only subsequently became perverted. The editorial rightly says that this thesis will be a surprise to many Catholics, and to some Anglicans. But the latter half of the book maintains that these positive principles, re-affirmed by the Reformers, 'are reconciled and safeguarded only within the structure of historical Catholicism'. And this part of the book is somewhat difficult for the editor to swallow, naturally: 'As a matter of fact, we have more confidence in Père Bouyer as an interpreter of Protestantism than of Roman Catholicism! At least, we should say that the latter is itself more of a *complexio oppositorum* than he allows.'

It is true that Père Bouyer does not go unchallenged amongst Catholic theologians, but it is only his particular outlook which is challenged, not his orthodoxy as a Catholic. He battles within the Church for a particular tradition, but that does not make him any less of a Catholic. The controversies do in fact illustrate well enough the extent to which the Catholic Church is and must be a *complexio oppositorum*; obviously the universal Church must have room for every human opinion so long as absolute denial of revelation is excluded, and obviously these different opinions will appear often enough as opposites. Père Bouyer campaigns for a fairly extreme eschatological and Augustinian outlook. In the course of the book under review he makes, what is to my mind unnecessary, reference to the controversy, charging the 'optimistic' theologians with preaching what is virtually hedonism. And he does this with some skill by quoting Councils, and leaving aside the extreme Augustinian sources.

Evanston is relevant here. In spite of fears to the contrary, in the event apparently opposed views were held together there under the one sign of Christ, the hope of the world. Some said that our only hope lies in the final coming of Christ to establish his kingdom in every soul. Some said our only hope is to change the world now, to bring it all back to Christ, to mediate his grace, in positive work here and now in the world. These two views were reconciled in the life of Christ himself living in the people who propounded them. And if the ecumenical vision is valid then we must work for such reconciliation, we must look for a *complexio* of apparent *oppositorum*.

In the same number of *Theology* there is an article which fails rather strikingly to maintain this objective level. In a review of Abbot Butler's 'The Church and Infallibility', R. P. C. Hanson starts quietly enough, but gets steadily more emotional and polemical as the article continues till he ends with the statement : 'This is the vitality of the jungle, a bizarre fecundity paralleled only in Hinduism'. This is quite amusing, but not very helpful to anyone ! Stripped of its bravura the article raises a number of important issues ; but the elements of the situation are largely obscured by the treatment. This article, like other non-Catholic reviews of the same book, indicate the severe limitations of the polemical approach, on both sides. Nearly always points are made, apparently overwhelmingly, because the writer need only confute, and is not required there and then to suggest a better alternative. In the January number of *Theology* Mr Hanson was answered on one point by a careful and courteous letter from Fr Hanshell, s.j. This had the happy result of eliciting in the same number a more carefully written reply. The problems raised here could well form the subject of doctrinal discussions and exchanges in private meetings between Catholic and non-Catholic theologians ; such regular gatherings are now becoming more and more a usual part of the ecumenical movement.

The nature of the Church is being widely discussed amongst Catholic theologians. The data which they have to go on and the picture with which they are presented is, ultimately, little different from that which confronts every other Christian. God is a mystery. The Christian Church on earth is bound to reflect something of this mystery ; it will never be possible for the human mind to make a perfect verbal description, totally adequate, absolutely intelligible. Our creeds are called 'symbols'. Words are symbols. On the other hand God has

made us self-conscious, reflective, intelligent, creatures, and he has given us a revelation through his son Jesus Christ. Clearly the Church founded by Jesus Christ must share in some way the authority of this revelation. And if there is one fruit of the ecumenical movement it is a general understanding that spiritual atomization is ruled out for ever. There must be some community and within it some authority. And so we come up to the practical and doctrinal problem : What is the authority God gives to his Church, where does it reside, how is it exercised ? The Vatican Council's definition locates the authority, the sovereignty of this body, in the Papacy. Beyond that it does little more than exclude all the more extreme interpretations which could be put on papal infallibility, the pope's powers in mediating to us the authority of revelation. It proceeds in the negative way. It is worded with the greatest care. But it is not, certainly, suitable material for the ordinary member of the Church ; simply, it would not be properly intelligible to him. And in so far as 'infallibility' has become part of the stock in trade of popular instruction, and the principle means of indicating the authority of the Church to the child or the convert, I should say that an unbalanced picture has been presented. Père Yves Congar, O.P., in his two works, *Vraie et Fausse Réforme dans l'Eglise* and *Jalons pour une théologie du Laïcat* points to the Church as being primarily, for the ordinary member, a community, a holy body. It is first of all a body to which he belongs in and through which he experiences the authority of the faith he claims. This conception of the Church as one body is an essential complement to the conception of the Church as a hierachial structure. Papal infallibility can only be seen in proper perspective when it is seen as the function of sovereignty in the Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic community which is the Church.

From infallibility we pass to inerrancy. *The Scottish Journal of Theology*, in March 1954, published a fourteen page review of 'A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture'. This was another very fine example of scrupulously honest reporting and fair argument. Frequent tribute is made to the book's positive qualities. 'The book comprises an astonishing diversity of opinions.' The following excerpt from the first part of the article is of note :

'... the real difference between what the Romans have to say about Holy Scripture and what is said by those who do not subscribe to their presuppositions or use their terminology is

greatly diminished. The affirmation of Biblical infallibility and inerrancy apparently secures for them no greater degree of unanimity when the meaning of the Bible is being interpreted.

This is by no means said in a spirit of veiled triumph, as though there were a kind of malicious satisfaction in a *tu quoque* that shows them to be in no stronger position in Biblical interpretation than those who belong to another form of the Christian faith. On the contrary, the conclusion is to be regretted : not in this way either is an easy solution to interpretative problems to be obtained ; it appears that the appeal to inerrancy and infallibility does not exempt us from the labour of trying to reach a common mind in matters of interpretation. But for those who claim for Holy Scripture inerrancy and infallibility, the fact of ambiguity at the level of interpretation clearly constitutes a grave embarrassment—unless of course by inerrancy and infallibility is meant in the last resort no more than what those mean who discard the ideas but still affirm that the Bible is none the less the very Word of God.'

Having said this the article then discusses the real and wide differences between the Catholic and the Protestant view of the relation between the Church and Scripture. The points are the more cogent for being couched in entirely objective and completely charitable language. The writer prefers to write of 'Reformed' and 'Unreformed' rather than Protestant and Catholic, but this is in no spirit of denigration but is involved to some extent in his argument which runs along familiar lines.

I think we should not be surprised at such a statement as this towards the end of the article : ' . . . the Roman Church was so late in entering the field of criticism. The present Commentary shows that it is conscious at least of movement around it. We must wait to see whether its own engagement upon criticism will at all modify the rigid adherence to Biblical inerrancy which it still maintains. In using criticism at all, it takes a solvent into its system, and if it is allowed to do its work, changes may be expected.'

We are amused ourselves sometimes, and should not be surprised at the astonished glances of non-Catholics, at the verbal gymnastics sometimes necessary for Catholic Biblical critics trying to balance the decrees of the Biblical Commission, the precise degree of authority of these decrees (not infallible), and their own critical honesty. But again, one is bound to query : Is there any better system ? Once again, when all is said

and done, our data are finally not very dissimilar. In my opinion, the reviewer is justly severe on the adherence here and there in the Commentary to an exclusively scholastic presentation of religion ; but again on the other hand, although it is not the final or the only standard, intellectual abstraction is always necessary at some stage in all thought, and the non-Catholic Biblical scholar may not take refuge indefinitely in mystery.

Finally, in this same number of *The Scottish Journal of Theology* is a translation of a very fine article on Balthasar's book on Barth, an article written by an Italian, Giovanni Miegge, in *Protestantesimo* in 1952. This is far too intricate for me to embark on a description of it. Suffice it to say that the article is itself an example of what the author describes as 'a new "Commonwealth of theology", *universitas theologorum*' which he says has been 'forming itself, where from both the Protestant and the Catholic sides there has been a return to a discussion of the same problems, with a fundamental agreement on method (historico-critical), a noteworthy converging of viewpoints, and the impression of an enrichment of both sides. For example it is certain that the theology of Karl Barth is helping some Catholic theologians to recognize the intrinsic rationalism of Thomism and to try to modify this—this book is a proof of it—just as on the other hand this book offers a considerable contribution to the interpretation, even from a Protestant point of view, of the greatest theologian of the twentieth century.'

JOHN M. TODD.

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RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE COPTIC CHURCH

PART IX

(Continued from *E.C.Q.*, Autumn 1954)

THE CONSECRATION OF THE HOLY MYRON AND THE KALLIELAION

THE present article contains a description and a synopsis of the Rite of Consecration of the Holy Myron (Chrism) and of the Oil of the Catechumens (Kallieliaion). The word Kallieliaion, in Coptic texts written Galileon, is derived from the Greek word Καλλιέλαιος which signifies the cultivated olive-tree, as distinct from the wild olive-tree; hence Kallieliaion means pure olive oil.

The consecration of the Holy Myron and of the Oil of the Catechumens is reserved to the Patriarch of Alexandria, and it is performed on Maundy Thursday, though not annually, but whenever a fresh supply of the Holy Myron and of the Oil of the Catechumens is required for distribution to the dioceses and parishes. At this service the Patriarch, bishops and assistant clergy wear vestments of black colour, and the coverings of the three altars (the southern altar being reserved for the Holy Myron, and the northern altar, for the Kallieliaion) are also black in colour.

For the Coptic tradition concerning the ultimate source of the Holy Myron, the reader is referred to my article 'A Coptic Tradition concerning the Holy Myron (Chrism)' in *Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie*, Alexandria, 1954, No. 3, pp. 52-58.

As regards the ingredients used in the preparation of the Holy Myron, as well as the manner of its concoction, the reader should consult the article by Arn. van Lantschoot, 'Le MS. Vatican Copte 44 et le Livre du Chrême (ms. Paris arabe 100)' in *Le Muséon*, T. XLV, pp. 181-234.

The only printed text of the Rite of Consecration of the Holy Myron and of the Kallieliaion is that which was edited by R. Tūkhī, *Pijōm eferapantoktin ejennieukbē ethouab*, Vol. I, pp. 286-367, Rome 1761. Certain parts of this Rite are, it seems, translated from R. Tūkhī's text by H. Denzinger in his *Ritus Orientalium*, Vol. I, Wurzburg, 1863-4, pp. 248-65, under 'Baptism', but the writer has not had the opportunity to consult this work.

The text given in this present article is a translation from the Coptic and Arabic text of *MS. Lit. 253*, Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, which is the earliest dated manuscript (1080 A.M.=1364 A.D.) that contains the text of this Rite. This text in question has been collated with that of R. Tûkhi's edition, and all the more important variant readings have been duly recorded.

MS. Lit. 253 supposes that this Rite is to be performed at the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Wâdi 'n-Natrûn, which, indeed, was the usual custom during the Middle Ages, at the period when our manuscript was transcribed, and consequently, it contains a number of interesting rubrics which are not found in R. Tûkhi's edition. These rubrics may be compared with those given by Arn. van Lantschoot, *op. cit.* pp. 222-34.

After the reading of the Gospel, the service for the Consecration of the Holy Myron assumes a definite eucharistic form which includes two Epicleses, in which God is asked to send down upon the Myron the Holy Spirit, and in the prayer which begins 'We incline unto Thee our necks, etc.' we have the following noteworthy clause 'for¹ it is *not* as the *myron* of the *Law* of that time, which came down to the skirt of the garment of Aaron, *but* may it be now a *divine Myron* invested with the *Holy Spirit*, the *Paraclete*'. These statements confirm the definite assertion of St Cyril of Jerusalem, of a Real Presence of the Holy Spirit in the Holy Myron after its consecration. He says 'But beware lest thou consider that that Myron is bare, for just as the bread of the Eucharist, after the Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit is no longer simple bread, but the Body of Christ, so also the Holy Myron is no longer something bare or, as one might say, ordinary, after the Epiclesis, but the grace (*χάρισμα*) of Christ, being also an active agent of the Holy Spirit through the presence of His Divinity'. Cyril. *Catesch. XXI*, 3 (P.G. 33, p. 1089).²

As regards the service for the Consecration of the Oil of the Catechumens (*Kallielaios*), this, also, after a series of petitions, assumes a definite eucharistic form which likewise includes an Epiclesis, in which God is asked that the Oil may become through the invocation of His Name upon it,

¹ The reader is reminded that words printed in italics represent Greek words in the Coptic text.

² 'Αλλ' ὅρα μὴ ὄποιοσθη ἐκένο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι. "Πατέρερ γὰρ δὲ ἄρτος τῆς Εὐχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Ἅγιου Πνεύματος οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτός, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· οὕτω καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον τοῦτο Μύρον, οὐκ ἔτι ψιλόν, οὐδὲ ὅτι εἴποι τις κοινὸν μετ' ἐπίκλησιν· ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα, καὶ Πνεύματος Ἅγιον, παρουσίᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος, ἐνεργητικὸν γνώμενον.'

an unction of salvation for every one, in every way resisting all *workings* of the *Adversary* and all worship of *idols*.

In the Coptic Church the Holy Myron is used in the administration of the Mystery of the Holy Chrismation (Confirmation)⁸ and at the Service for the Consecration of Churches.⁹ As regards the Oil of the Catechumens (*Kallielaion*), it is, as its name implies, used in the administration of the Mystery of Holy Baptism.⁵

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*Chatby-les-Bains,
Alexandria.*

Feast of St Paul the Theban and St John Kalybitos.

15th January 1955.

CONSECRATION OF THE HOLY MYRON¹⁰

And after placing the *Myron* and the *Kallielaion*⁷ on the altar, the *High Priest*⁸ then begins to consecrate the Holy *Myron*. Say the (Prayer) of Thanksgiving⁹ (and) offer incense. The archdeacon says : 'Let us beseech the Lord'. The *Archbishop*¹⁰ says this prayer : 'Master, Lord God of hosts, etc.' in which may be noted the clause, 'and receive our supplication, we being Thy servants, and grant unto us to offer before Thee the reasonable service of this *Holy Myron* (as) incense, awaiting Thy heavenly gift'. *Lessons* : *Isaiah* lxi, 1-7 and *Exodus* xxx, 22-33.¹¹ And the *Archbishop* sits upon the *Synthronon* after the *Prayer of Incense*.¹² Let the archdeacon read the *Lesson* of the *Apostle* (to the) *Hebrews* i, 5-ii, 4. Say the *Prayer* after the *Apostolos*,¹³ namely, 'Lord of knowledge, etc.'¹⁴ The *Catholic Epistle* : *I John* ii, 20-8 and the *Acts* x, 34-46*. The people :

* Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 312-37.

⁸ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 325-7.

⁹ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 307.

¹⁰ Text from *MS. Lit.* 253, Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, foll. 74v-97r. R. Tūkht, *Pijdm eferapantoktin ejennieuuhk ethouab*, Vol. I, pp. 286-335, Rome, 1761. *MS. Lit.* 253 has no title for this service. Tūkht, *op. cit.* has : 'Taxis empijineragiazin entepiagion emmuron hēnpiehoo emmah e entepipashka ete piehoo e ennishti enebdomados'.

⁷ i.e. the cultivated olive oil.

⁸ The Arabic translation of the Coptic text has 'the Patriarch'.

⁹ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 392.

¹⁰ The Arabic translation has here and everywhere, where the word 'Archbishop' occurs, the rendering 'the Patriarch'.

¹¹ Old Testament Books are quoted according to the Septuagint Version, edition H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, Cambridge, 1901-12.

¹² Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 392.

¹³ i.e. the Pauline Epistles.

¹⁴ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 10.

*the Trisagion.*¹⁵ (Say) the *Prayer of the Gospel.*¹⁶ Psalm-Versicle : *Psalm lxxxviii, 20*-2. Gospel : Mark xiv, 3-9.* After the *Gospel*, the *Prayer of Consolation*, namely, 'Long-suffering, etc.'

¹⁷ Again the archdeacon says : 'Let none of the catechumens, let none of the uninitiated, let none who are without the power be joined with us. Recognize one another. All stand up.'
¹⁸ Then follows this rubric in Arabic :¹⁹ Then the patriarch offers²⁰ incense, and he takes the *Mystagogia*²¹ (and holds it) on his breast, and he goes out from the sanctuary of Mark the Evangelist, and four deacons bear a felt-cloth²² also over him, on which is the likeness of the image of the Cherubim, and it is called the Canopy, and before him (are) twelve priests, and in their hands censers, and (also) twelve priests, and in their hands crosses and the *cherubim*,²³ and twelve deacons carrying candles, and singers recite before him, and they shall walk from the sanctuary of my lord Mark into the nave of the church until they come to the end of it, which is the west, and they shall go out to the colonnade of the sanctuary of Benjamin, and the priests shall enter, the singer (remaining) without, into the sanctuary of Anbâ Benjamin in front of the patriarch. And the patriarch shall place the *Mystagogia* on the Synthronus. Then he shall return in the manner already mentioned, and he shall enter the sanctuary of my lord Mark from the sanctuary of Anbâ Benjamin, and he shall take the Myron from (the altar) of the sanctuary of my lord Mark, and he shall place it on his breast in his right hand, and the Kallielaison in his left hand, if he is able to carry all, and if he is unable to

¹⁵ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 397.

¹⁶ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 394.

¹⁷ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 14.

¹⁸ This occurs in the Greek Liturgy of St James, cf. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, p. 41.

¹⁹ This rubric supposes that the consecration of the Holy Myron takes place at the Monastery of St Macarius in the Wâdi 'n-Nâfrûn, where it was regularly consecrated at the time when *MS. Lit. 253* was copied, namely, in 1364 A.D. For particulars about the Monastery of St Macarius in the Wâdi 'n-Nâfrûn and the consecration of the Holy Myron there, cf. the following works : H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Nâfrûn*, Part III, New York, 1933, pp. 39-47 ; O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Nâfrûn*, Cairo, 1954, pp. 28-40 ; Arn. van Lantschoot, 'Le MS. Vatican Copte 44 et le Livre du Chrême (ms. Paris arabe 100)' in *Le Muséon*, t. XLV, pp. 181-234. Naturally, R. Tûkhl, *op. cit.* does not give this rubric, but merely gives directions for the procession of the Holy Myron to the altar.

²⁰ The Arabic text has 'bears incense'.

²¹ For the text of the *Mystagogia*, cf. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, 'The Coptic and Arabic Versions of the *Mystagogia*' in *Le Muséon*, t. XLVI, pp. 203-35.

²² The Arabic word is 'Namat'.

²³ i.e. the *hexapteriga* of the Greek Church.

carry all, the patriarch shall carry the Myron and the senior bishop who is present on that day, shall carry the Kallielaison. He shall go out in the manner already mentioned, into the nave²⁴ of the sanctuary of Anbâ Benjamin, and he shall walk in the manner already mentioned, to the end of it, that is to say, the west. Then he shall go out to the colonnade of the sanctuary of Abû Maqâr (Macarius), and he shall enter from it into the dome of Benjamin, and he shall place the Myron on (the altar of) the southern sanctuary, and the Kallielaison on (the altar of) the northern sanctuary. The patriarch shall vest in the vestments of the Liturgy, other than those which were on him at the beginning, and they shall also be black. And he shall go out from the sanctuary of Benjamin, and he shall enter the sanctuary of Abû Shanûdah (Shenouti), and he shall consecrate the water and shall wash the feet of the bishops who are present and (also) of the priests.²⁵ When he has finished washing their feet, he shall enter from the sanctuary of Abû Shanûdah (Shenouti) into the dome of the sanctuary of Abû Maqâr and from it he shall enter into the dome of the sanctuary of Benjamin. Then he shall consecrate the Myron first, and the archdeacon shall say : 'Let us stand well, etc.' 'In peace let us beseech the Lord'. Let the Archbishop (say) this prayer : 'Christ, our God, Who hast commanded us in the Law and the Prophets that priests should be chosen, etc.' in which may be noted the following, 'Mayest Thou, therefore, Lord, bless this Myron which is set before us, we invoking upon it Thy Name ; for it shall not be blessed by incense of divers kinds, but it is by Thine own power and by the grace of Thine Only-begotten Son and by the working of Thy Holy Spirit that Thou shalt sanctify it . . . send upon it the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, fill it with spiritual incense', and he concludes : 'Through the grace and the compassion and love of mankind of Thine Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, through Whom, etc.' The deacon : 'Bow your heads to the Lord'. The Archbishop : 'We incline unto Thee our necks and we bend unto Thee the knees of our hearts, etc.' in which may be noted the following clauses, 'in order that Thou mayest make us worthy to accomplish this service of this Holy Myron, that it may be a fence for the sheep of Thy Holy Church, for it is not as the myron²⁶ of the Law of that time, which came down to the skirt²⁷ of the garment of Aaron, but may it be now

²⁴ Lit. 'middle'.

²⁵ For the Service of the Blessing of the water and the Foot-washing on Maundy Thursday, cf. E.C.Q., Vol. IX, pp. 311-4.

²⁶ MS. Lit. 253 has 'myron' in the plural, but R. Tûkhi, op. cit. has the singular.

²⁷ 'to the skirt' added from R. Tûkhi, op. cit. ; it is a quotation from Ps. cxxxii, 2*.

a divine Myron invested with the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete : for it is not as the horn of Samuel²⁸ or as the alabaster vessel which was poured upon Thy holy and blessed feet,²⁹ for Thou didst not make this ineffable Myron as a salvation for them alone who are upon the earth, but (as) an oil of heaven which became a sign for them who fear Thee . . . make it, Lord, a holy unction for them who are signed³⁰ with it'. Then the Archbishop says the 'Alleluia' (and) Psalm xli, 7, §*, 8-9; 'Glory be to the Father, etc. Now and always, etc.' Moreover, there are said the Three Prayers.³¹ Then let them say the Symbol of the Faith,³² and the High Priest says this prayer : 'God of our fathers and Lord of mercy, etc.' This prayer is an Apologia sacerdotis, as may be seen from the following clauses, 'vouchsafe to me, I thine unworthy servant, of Thine own wisdom from Thy blessed Throne, in order that I may be worthy to approach unto the basement (κοντρίς) of Thy holy altar that I may accomplish³³ this service of this holy Myron which is set before us now', and he concludes, saying : 'For Thy holy Name is blessed and full of glory for ever. Amen.' Let the archdeacon say the holy General³⁴ (Intercession),³⁵ and let the Archbishop say : 'Lord, God, the great, the eternal, etc.' in which may be noted the following, 'and that we may clothe ourselves with Christ by the purity of our members through the anointing of this holy Myron. Send upon it now the grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit. May it become a Myron of gladness and a garment of light. Amen. a royal gift (χάρισμα). Amen. a purification of our souls and bodies. Amen. a spiritual grace. Amen. a phylactery of life. Amen. an indestructible seal. Amen. a weapon of the Faith. Amen. a breastplate of strength, Amen, against all the evil workings of the Devil. Amen. a pledge of salvation and of redemption and of eternal life. Amen, in order that, for those who shall be anointed with it, it may become a fear and a trembling for them who stand against us, so that we may stand in the day of the Resurrection, shining as the stars of the heaven in

²⁸ Cf. I Kings xvi, 13.

²⁹ Cf. Matt. xxvi, 7.

³⁰ Rendering from the Arabic translation ; the Coptic text has χειροτονία.

³¹ i.e. for the Peace, the Patriarchs and the Congregations, cf. E.C.Q., Vol. VIII, p. 9. This rubric is added from R. Tukhi, op. cit.

³² i.e. the Creed.

³³ Rendering according to R. Tukhi, op. cit., MS. Lit. 253 has 'we may accomplish'.

³⁴ Καθολική. Cf. the term καθολικὴ εὐαγγέλιον which is given to the General Intercession made by the deacon in the Greek Liturgy of St James, F. E. Brightman, op. cit., pp. 44-48.

³⁵ For this General Intercession, cf. p. 39.

the light of all Thy Saints.³⁸ *The archdeacon* : 'Let us stand well, etc.'³⁹ *The Archbishop* : 'The love of God the Father and the grace of His Only-begotten Son, our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the fellowship and the gift of His³⁸ Holy Spirit, be with you'. *The people* : 'And with thy spirit'. *The Archbishop* : 'Set on high your mind and your heart'. *The People* : 'It is there with the Lord'. *The Archbishop* : 'Let us give thanks to Thee, Lord God'. *The people* : 'It is meet in truth'. Then the *Archbishop* says this prayer : 'God of our fathers and Lord of mercy, etc.' in which may be noted the following clauses, 'then, when we fell, we followed Satan and we transgressed Thy Law, (and) we were given over to death through our sins. Again Thou didst call us unto life, Thou didst have pity on the work ($\pi\lambda\alpha\sigmaμα$) of Thy hands through the good-pleasure of Thine Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ', and at the words 'and Thou hast renewed us through vouchsafing unto us the oil of gladness', the *archdeacon* (exclaims) : 'Ye who are seated, arise'. The prayer continues, 'Wherefore, Master, our Lord, we pray and beseech Thee, send Thy Holy Spirit upon this *Myron* which is set before us, stir it, may it become an unction of a perfect seal unto the purification and salvation of all mankind', and at the words 'that we may give glory unto Thee, Thou the true God', the *archdeacon* (exclaims) : 'Look to the East'. The prayer continues, 'Thou³⁹ Whom the choir of the Angels and the Archangels praise and bless and glorify with unceasing lips and never-silent voices, etc.' and at the words 'and the hymn of the victory of our salvation, with never-silent voice, shouting (and) saying', the *archdeacon* (exclaims) : 'Let us attend', (and) the *people* (say) : 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth. Full is the heaven and the earth of Thy holy glory.'⁴⁰ The prayer continues, 'Holy art Thou in truth, etc.' and the following clauses should be noted, 'Vouchsafe to this *Myron* the mark of Thine imperishable unction for a true sign of the Holy Spirit, for the communion of the incomprehensible light and our investiture with royal dignity, for the purification of our souls and our bodies', and at the words 'Thy people and Thy Church beseech Thee', the *people* (say) : 'Have mercy upon us, God, the Father Almighty'. *The Archbishop* (says) the *Epiclesis* : 'Have mercy upon us, God, according to Thy great mercy : send Thy Holy Spirit upon this excellent and blessed *Myron*, in order that

³⁸ Note the *Epiclesis* in this prayer.

³⁹ Note the eucharistic form of the following consecration.

⁴⁰ Thus R. Tukhi, *op. cit.*, MS. Lit. 253 has 'Thy'.

⁴⁰ The Coptic text has here the Third Person Singular.

⁴⁰ 'Lord of Sabaoth—glory' added from R. Tukhi, *op. cit.*

it may become a holy unction and a perfect seal and an oil of gladness and mercy and salvation . . . Yea, our Master, God, the Father Almighty, we pray Thee, send Thy Holy Spirit upon this Myron, in order that it may become a garment of incorruption and a holy unction unto the glory and honour of Thy holy and blessed Name . . . For this (is) that with which were anointed the Apostles and all the Saints and the little children who are born unto the Name of Christ, and brought unto the unction of regeneration. With this also they are wont to anoint bishops and also priests unto this day'.⁴¹ The archdeacon : 'Again let us beseech the Lord'. The Archbishop : 'God, great in Thy⁴² counsel (and) strong in Thy⁴³ works, etc.' Let the archdeacon say : 'Again in peace, let us beseech the Lord earnestly'. 'For the safety and succour and long archiepiscopacy of our saintly father N., Pope and Patriarch, etc.' The people : 'Kyrie eleison'.⁴³ 'For the holy, mystic and divine Myron which is set forth, etc.' 'For this holy Myron, the oil of gladness, etc.' 'For those who labour and bear fruit in the Holy Church of God, etc.' 'For our most pious and Godfearing Orthodox kings, etc.'⁴⁴ 'We entreat Thee Who art compassionate, long-suffering and of much mercy, etc.' 'Let us all say : Kyrie eleison.' The people say : 'Kyrie eleison'.⁴⁵ The archdeacon : 'Incline to God with fear'. The Archbishop, bowing his head, says this Epiclesis :⁴⁶ 'Send forth⁴⁷ from Thy holy height and from Thy prepared dwelling-place and Thy boundless bosom and from the throne of the glory⁴⁸ of Thy Kingdom Him, the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit Who existeth in salvation and healing, upon this Myron'⁴⁹ and may it be for those who shall make use of it and for those who shall come to the baptism of regeneration a holy unction'—say aloud, making a cross at each word, the people answering 'Amen'—, 'a holy Myron. Amen : an oil of gladness'.⁵⁰ Amen : a royal

⁴¹ For the passage 'For this—this day', cf. the prayer Κύριε τοῦ ἀλέους, καὶ Πατήρ τῶν φάστων, κ.τ.λ. in the Greek Rite of the Consecration of the Holy Myron ΕΤΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΓΑ, Rome, 1873, pp. 325–6 : δι' οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχοντας τοὺς ἄγιους σον Ἀποστόλους, καὶ πάντας τοὺς διὰ λουτρῶν παλιγγενεῖας ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν καθεῖται Ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀναγεννηθέντας ἐώς οὐμέρος.

⁴² The Coptic text has the Third Person Singular (His).

⁴³ 'The people : Kyrie eleison' added from R. Tūkhlī, op. cit. This is said after each petition.

⁴⁴ This petition dates from the time when there were two emperors of the Roman Empire, one of the Eastern and one of the Western Empire.

⁴⁵ 'The people say' added from R. Tūkhlī, op. cit.

⁴⁶ 'says—Epiclesis' is a rubric in Arabic.

⁴⁷ 'Send forth . . . the Holy Spirit . . . upon this Myron', cf. ΕΤΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΓΑ, p. 325 : κατάπεμψον . . . Μύρον.

⁴⁸ 'of the glory' added from R. Tūkhlī, op. cit.

⁴⁹ 'upon this Myron' added from R. Tūkhlī, op. cit.

⁵⁰ 'an oil of gladness . . . body', cf. ΕΤΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΓΑ, p. 325 : ποίησον . . . ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιδεως.

anointing. Amen : a *vesture* of light. Amen : a garment of salvation. Amen : a *phylactery* of life. Amen : a *spiritual grace*. Amen : a purification of *soul* and *body*. Amen : a joy of graces. Amen : an eternal gladness. Arnen : an indestructible *seal*. Amen : a repose of the Faith. Amen : a breastplate of strength. Amen, against every *diabolic working*. Amen, etc.' The archdeacon : 'Again let us beseech the Lord.' The people say.⁵¹ 'Kyrie eleison'.⁵² 'Lord Almighty, Heavenly One, God of our fathers, etc.' 'For the peace from above, etc.' 'For our deliverance from all tribulation, etc.' 'For the forgiveness of all our transgressions, etc.' 'For the offered, hallowed and perfected Holy Myron and the safety of him who has been advanced,⁵³ our saintly father and high priest lord N., etc.' 'For the longevity (and) duration of our most holy father, N., etc.' 'For this Holy Myron, the oil of gladness, the vesture of light, the spiritual veil, the royal unction, etc.' 'We entreat Thee, Who art compassionate, long-suffering, of much mercy, etc.' 'Hear us sinners, beseeching Thee. Kyrie eleison.' 'Let us all say : Kyrie eleison.' The archdeacon again : 'In peace, let us beseech the Lord, etc.' The archdeacon : 'Again let us beseech the Lord'. The Archbishop : 'Again we offer unto Thee, the Eternal King, accomplishing the *Mystery* of the feast of the holy, excellent Myron which is for the *sealing* of the *churches*, etc.' The people : 'Absolve, pardon, forgive us, etc.' The Archbishop : 'Again, also let us give thanks unto Thee, our Master, God the Almighty, etc.' in which the following clauses may be noted : 'and that Thou send the⁵⁴ grace of the *working* of Thy Holy Spirit upon this *Holy Myron* which He hath sanctified as the holy oil with which Thou didst sanctify priests and *high priests* and *prophets* and kings,⁵⁵ from Moses till John, and all those born after them through elect regeneration'. The Archbishop : 'Again, also, we offer up unto Thee the King Who art in the Heaven, accomplishing this great *Mystery* of this feast which is filled with glory, the perfect *seal* of the *Church*, which is the *Holy Myron*, etc.' in which may be noted the following clauses : 'We beseech Thee, Lover of man, Lord, send Thy Holy Spirit upon this *Myron* which is set before us, that all who shall receive of it may be made worthy of the nourishment of the Kingdom of the Heavens, in order that through it we can be sanctified, and being perfected, we may dare to beseech Thee, the Father Who art in the Heavens, saying'—the people :

⁵¹ 'The people say' added from R. Tukhi, *op. cit.*

⁵² 'Kyrie eleison' is repeated after each clause of the litany.

⁵³ The expression 'who has been advanced' means 'who has been appointed patriarch'.

⁵⁴ The Coptic text has 'Thy'.

⁵⁵ 'with which . . . kings', cf. ΕΤΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΓΑ, p. 325 : *λν φ. . . βασιλεῖς*.

'Our Father Who art in the Heavens, etc.' *The archdeacon* : 'Bow your beads unto the Lord'.⁵⁶ *The Archbishop* : 'Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the Evil One, etc.' *The deacon* : 'Let us attend with the fear of God'. *The Archbishop* : 'Thou art He unto Whom we have bowed our heads and our hearts, etc.', and he concludes 'For this Myron which is set before us is sanctified and filled with glory and filled with perfect mercy, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.' '*The Presanctified Myron. A Holy Thing to the holy.*'.⁵⁷ Let the *archdeacon* say the *petitions* of the prayers.⁵⁸ *The Archbishop* (says) this *prayer* : 'God Who art holy and dost rest among the Saints, etc.' *The archdeacon* says :⁵⁹ 'With the fear of God let us attend'.

CONSECRATION OF THE HOLY KALLIELAION⁶⁰

Let the *Archbishop* say the *petitions* which are the prayers for : the sick,⁶¹ those who travel,⁶² the fruits,⁶³ the kings,⁶⁴ those

⁵⁶ 'unto the Lord' added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ The Greek text here is most corrupt, and the above is a suggested rendering. *MS. Lit.* 253 has : Τὰ προαγιασθέντα Μύρον τοῦτο ἄγιο τοῖς ἄγιοις ; R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.* has : Τὰ προαγιασθέντα Μύρον. τὰ ἄγια τοῖς ἄγιοις.

⁵⁸ Cf. the petitions in the following service.

⁵⁹ '*The archdeacon says*' added from Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁶⁰ Text from *MS. Lit.* 253, Coptic Museum, foll. 97v–101v. R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.* 336–67. *MS. Lit.* 253 has as title for this service 'Oukatasis entepiagion Galileon'. Tûkhi, *op. cit.* has 'Oukatasis entepiagion Agallielaion'. For the use of this Oil in the Rite of Baptism, cf. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, 'The Baptismal Rite of the Coptic Church (A Critical Study)', in *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*, t. XI (1945), p. 69. Galileon (Agallielaion) is from the Greek word καλλιέλαιος i.e. the cultivated olive, hence pure olive oil.

⁶¹ Celebrant : 'Again, also, let us pray to God the Almighty, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for our fathers and our brethren who are sick, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'Thou hast visited them in mercies, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. [E.C.Q., Vol. VII, p. 393; Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service of the Lord's Day*, pp. 12–14; Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. I, p. 166.]

⁶² Celebrant : 'Remember, Lord, our fathers and brethren who have gone abroad, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for our fathers and brethren who have gone abroad, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'Our fathers and our brethren who have gone abroad, etc.' [E.C.Q., Vol. VII, p. 393; Brightman, *op. cit.* p. 167.]

⁶³ Celebrant : 'Graciously accord, Lord, the airs of heaven and the fruits of the earth, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for the airs of heaven and the fruits of the earth, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'Bring them up according to their measure, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. [E.C.Q., Vol. VIII, p. 22; Bute, *op. cit.* pp. 27–28.]

⁶⁴ Celebrant : 'Remember, Lord, those who rule with piety, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for our kings' (or he says in Coptic : 'Pray that Christ our God grant unto us mercies, etc.'). People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant 'Guard them, in peace and righteousness, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison.' [Brightman, *op. cit.* p. 168.] R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.* reads 'Kings'.

who have fallen asleep,⁶⁶ the *sacrifices*,⁶⁷ the *catechumens*,⁶⁸ the *peace*,⁶⁹ the *Popes*,⁷⁰ the *Congregations*,⁷¹ for the *safety of the World*,⁷² the afflicted,⁷³ the *archons*,⁷⁴ the *economy of the Church*⁷⁵ and the *fruits*.⁷⁶ The *Archbishop* says this *prayer*:⁷⁷ 'God Who art holy and Who reposest⁷⁸ in the Saints, etc.' The deacon : 'With the fear of God, let us attend.'⁷⁹ The *Archbishop* :

⁶⁶ Celebrant : 'Remember, Lord, the souls of Thy servants who have fallen asleep, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for our fathers and our brethren who have fallen asleep, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'Graciously grant, Lord, to give rest to all their souls, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. [E.C.Q., Vol. VII, p. 393; Brightman, op. cit. pp. 169-70.]

⁶⁷ Celebrant : 'Remember, Lord, the *sacrifices*, the *oblations*, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for them who provide for the *sacrifices*, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'Receive them upon Thy holy, reasonable *altar*, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. [E.C.Q., Vol. VIII, p. 11; Bute, op. cit. pp. 67-69; Brightman, op. cit. pp. 170-1.]

⁶⁸ Celebrant : 'Remember, Lord, the *catechumens* of Thy people, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for the *catechumens* of our people, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'All remains of the service of *idols*, cast out of their heart, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'.

⁶⁹ Celebrant : 'Again, also, let us pray to God the *Almighty*, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for the *peace of the One Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, Orthodox Church of God*'. People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'Which is from one end of the world to the other, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. [E.C.Q., Vol. VIII, p. 15; Bute, op. cit. pp. 63-64; Brightman, op. cit. p. 160.]

⁷⁰ Celebrant : 'Again, also, let us pray to God the *Almighty*, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for our *High Priest, Pope Abba N.*, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'With preservation preserve him to us for many years, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. [E.C.Q., Vol. VIII, p. 15; Bute, op. cit. pp. 64-66; Brightman, op. cit. pp. 160-1.]

⁷¹ Celebrant : 'Again, let us pray to God the *Almighty*, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for this *holy church*, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'Grant that they may be unto us without trouble or hindrance, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. [E.C.Q., Vol. VIII, p. 15; Bute, op. cit. pp. 70-71; Brightman, op. cit. p. 161.]

⁷² Celebrant : 'Remember, Lord, the *safety (σωρηπλα)* of this Thine *holy place*, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for the *safety of the world*, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'And those who dwell in them in the faith of God'. People : 'Kyrie eleison'. [E.C.Q., Vol. VIII, p. 21; Bute, op. cit. p. 93; Brightman, op. cit. p. 172.]

⁷³ Celebrant : 'Remember, Lord, those who are afflicted in *distress*, etc.' Deacon : 'Pray for those who are in the *prisons*, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. [E.C.Q., Vol. VIII, p. 14; Bute, op. cit. p. 61; Brightman, op. cit. p. 157.]

⁷⁴ Celebrant : 'Remember, Lord, the *Christ-loving archons*'. Deacon : 'Pray for the *Christ-loving archons*, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'.

⁷⁵ Celebrant : 'Remember, Lord, the *economy of the Holy Church*'. Deacon : 'Pray for the *economy of the Holy Church*, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'.

⁷⁶ Celebrant : 'Vouchsafe, Lord, the *airs* of the heaven and the *fruits* of the earth this year, bless them'. Deacon : 'Pray for the *airs* of the heaven and the *fruits* of the earth, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. Celebrant : 'Bring them up according to their measure, etc.' People : 'Kyrie eleison'. [E.C.Q., Vol. VII, p. 395; Bute, op. cit. pp. 27 and 93; Brightman, op. cit. p. 168.]

⁷⁷ 'The *Archbishop* says this *prayer*' added from R. Tukhi, op. cit.

⁷⁸ The Coptic text has here the Third Person Singular.

⁷⁹ 'of God, let us attend' added from R. Tukhi, op. cit.

'Master, Lord God, Who through the *Law* and the *Prophets* didst⁷⁹ give to Thy⁸⁰ priests an anointing with this oil, (and) didst⁸¹ give to them grace through Christ⁸² the Lord; Thou hast granted unto all Thy *people* to be anointed with holy oil: mayest Thou bless, also, now, through Thy Power this oil which we have already set before us, etc.' The *archdeacon*: 'Offer in order: stand: look to the east: let us attend'. The people say:⁸³ 'A mercy of peace, the Myron and Kallielaios of praise'. The *Archbishop*: 'The Lord be with you all'. The people: 'And with thy spirit'. The *Archbishop*: 'On high our⁸⁴ hearts'. The people: 'We have them [lifted] unto the Lord'. The *Archbishop*: 'Let us give thanks unto the Lord'. The people: 'It is meet and right'. The *Archbishop*: 'It is meet and right (thrice). We pray Thee, Lord, drawing nigh before Thy glory, etc.', and at the words 'Master of all things', the *deacon*:⁸⁵ 'Ye who are seated, arise'—the *Archbishop*: 'Thou art He Whom we beseech, Lord, etc.' and at the words 'help them speedily', the *deacon*⁸⁶ 'Look to the east'—the *Archbishop*: 'Give unto us, our Master, now and at all times a life pleasing unto Thee, etc.' and at the words 'Whose Kingdom is without end unto the ages', the *archdeacon* says 'Let us attend'—the *Archbishop* says:⁸⁷ 'at all times (and) in all places all things ballow Thee,⁸⁸ etc.' and at the words 'Lord, we hymn Thee with them, saying', the people: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth. Full is the heaven and the earth of Thy holy glory'.⁸⁹ The *Archbishop* lifts up his hands and says:⁹⁰ 'Holy, holy, holy art Thou, Lord our God. Send the sweetness of Thy great mercy upon the fruit of the sweet olive tree, upon this pure olive oil'⁹¹ which is set before us, with which priests and *prophets* and kings and *martyrs* are anointed. Purify it, Lord, through the descent upon it of Thy Holy Spirit, that it may cast out all worship of *idols*, all *magic*, all *sorcery*, (and may be) for a *salvation* and *healing* of all the *Faithful*, for an illumination of every *soul* that shall receive of it, and for a redemption of those who shall be anointed with it, (and) for

⁷⁹ The Coptic text has 'His'.

⁸⁰ 'Christ' added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁸¹ 'The people say' added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁸² MS. *Lit.* 253 reads *ημῶν*, but R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.* reads *ὑμῶν*.

⁸³ R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.* has 'archdeacon'.

⁸⁴ 'the archdeacon—says' added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁸⁵ This expression is found in the Greek Liturgy of St Mark *πάντοτε πέντε οὐρανούς*, cf. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. I, p. 132.

⁸⁶ 'Lord of Sabaoth—glory' is added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁸⁷ 'lifts up—says' is added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ For the term *καλλιέλαιος*, cf. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, 'The Baptismal Rite of the Coptic Church (A Critical Study)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Archéologie Copte*, t. XI, Le Caire, 1947, p. 69, note 1.

the profit of their *souls* and their *bodies* and their *spirits*, (and) for the forgiveness of their sins, for Thy *people* and Thy *Church* beseech Thee'. *The people*: 'Have mercy upon us, God the Father, the Almighty'. *The Archbishop* bows his head, saying this⁹⁰ *Epiclesis*: 'We pray Thee, Lord our God, Lover of man, hear us, we Thy servants, beseeching Thy goodness, that this oil may become through the invocation of Thy Name upon it an unction of salvation for every one, in every way resisting all *workings* of the *Adversary* and all worship of *idols*, etc.' and this prayer concludes with 'that we may dare to beseech Thee, the Father Who art in the heavens, and say'—*the people*: 'Our Father Who art in the heavens, etc.' *The archdeacon* says: 'Bow your heads unto the Lord'.⁹⁰ *The Archbishop*: 'We pray Thee, our Master, Lover of man, to send the Holy Spirit upon this oil, that Thou mayest bless it according to the magnitude of Thy compassion. Vouchsafe unto it Thy healing energy which is from above, that it may be to every one who shall receive of it of Thy faithful and Orthodox servants, as a phylactery of souls and bodies and spirits,⁹¹ as a gladness⁹² of hearts,⁹³ unto the glory and honour of Thy holy Name.' Let the *archdeacon* say the supplications: 'Pray for those who are afflicted, etc.' 'Pray for the economy, etc.' 'Pray for the Christ-loving *archons*, etc.' 'For this holy pure olive oil, an oil of gladness, a shining vesture, a spiritual veil, a royal unction, we beseech Thee, Lord, bear us.' *The people* say: 'Kyrie eleison'.⁹⁴ *The Archpriest* says aloud:⁹⁵ 'For Thine is the glory and the blessing and the greatness, etc.' Let the *Archbishop* say⁹⁶ with a loud cry: 'These things which we have begun to purify, now give (as) holy to the holy'.⁹⁷ *One Holy Father*: *One Holy Son*: *One Holy Spirit*. Amen. An oil of gladness, availng against all the might of the *Adversary*, and the grafting on to the sweet olive tree in the *Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church* of God. Amen.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ 'bows—this' is added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁹⁰ 'The archdeacon—Lord' is added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁹¹ *MS. Lit. 253* has, added by a later hand, the pronoun 'their' before the words 'souls, bodies, spirits'.

⁹² 'gladness' reading according to R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*, *MS. Lit. 253*, Coptic Museum, has 'laver'.

⁹³ *MS. Lit. 253* has the reading 'their heart'.

⁹⁴ 'The people—eleison' added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁹⁵ 'The Archpriest—aloud' is added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁹⁶ 'say' added from R. Tûkhi, *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ So also the accompanying Arabic translation.

⁹⁸ This may be compared with the formula in the Coptic Baptismal Rite, 'Thou art anointed N., with the oil of gladness, availng against all the *workings* of the *Adversary*, unto the grafting on to the sweet olive tree of the *Holy Catholic Apostolic Church* of God. Amen.' Cf. O. H. E. KHS-Burmeister, 'The Baptismal Rite of the Coptic Church (A critical Study)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Archéologie Copte*, t. XI, Le Caire, 1947, p. 69

(Rubric in Arabic) : 'Then, after the consecration of the blessed *Myron* and also the *Kallielaison*, the Patriarch shall leave each of them on their altars (*Hayákal*), and he shall place the Offering upon the altar (*Haikal*) of (the Sanctuary of) Benjamin.⁹⁹ The Patriarch shall celebrate the Liturgy, and when he has said the Prayer of the Gospel, he shall sit down, before he reads the Gospel, on the *Syntbronus* of (the Sanctuary of) Benjamin,¹⁰⁰ and he shall hand the *Mystagogia*¹⁰⁰ to the eldest of the bishops¹⁰¹ who are present on that day, that he may read it upon the *ambon*. And when he has finished reading it, the Patriarch shall read the Gospel, the Gospel of the Liturgy, on the *Syntbronus*. Then he shall descend from it, and shall go up to the altar and shall accomplish the Liturgy in the customary manner. And after he has accomplished the Liturgy, the bishops, the priests, the clergy, the deacons and all the people and the monks shall communicate. Meanwhile, the father, the Patriarch, shall advance to the door-keeper, who is the servant, whether he be a priest or a deacon, that he (the door-keeper) may take the *Myron* and the *Kallielaison*, and he shall place each of them beneath the altar (*Haikal*) of (the Sanctuary of) Benjamin,¹⁰² until the third day¹⁰³ of the blessed feast, namely the Holy Easter, and this, before the door-keeper has covered his communion with the water.¹⁰³ And when he has placed reliance (on God) to take them on this day, the Patriarch shall celebrate the Liturgy on the altar (*Haikal*) of (the Sanctuary of) Benjamin,¹⁰⁴ and he shall accomplish the Liturgy, and he shall communicate himself, and he shall communicate the bishops and the priests and the deacons and the monks and all the people; and the door-keeper shall advance to take the *Myron* and the *Kallielaison* from under the altar (*Haikal*), before the door-keeper covers his communion with the water likewise, and the Patriarch shall take both of them, and he shall set them up, as is customary.'

⁹⁹ At the time when *MS. Lit. 253*, Coptic Museum, was copied, it was customary for the Patriarch to consecrate the *Myron* and the *Kallielaison* at the Monastery of St Macarius in the Wâdi n'Nafrûn. For a description of the Sanctuary of Benjamin, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Nafrûn*, Part III, New York, 1933, pp. 90–96, and O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Nafrûn*, Le Caire, 1954, pp. 34–36. It should be noted that the Arabic term 'Haikal' is normally applied to the sanctuary of a church, and rarely, as in our text, to the altar also.

¹⁰⁰ For a critical study of the Coptic and Arabic Versions of the *Mystagogia*, cf. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, 'The Coptic and Arabic Versions of the *Mystagogia*' in *Le Muséon*, T. XLVI, (1933), pp. 203–35.

¹⁰¹ i.e. the senior bishop in rank.

¹⁰² i.e. Easter Tuesday.

¹⁰³ After having received the Holy Communion, the communicant drinks a little water, and this act is called 'covering the communion', cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 36–37.

PLATE XXXVII

This rectangular altar of pine-wood, measuring 1.12 metres long, 1 metre high, and 75 cm. wide, comes from the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Old Cairo, and is a unique example of a Coptic wooden altar. Of the original twelve twisted columns surmounted by Corinthian capitals, only eight now remain. These columns are spanned by conches in the centre of which is a plain cross, and above the spring of these conches there are crosses enclosed in a wreath. This altar may be assigned to perhaps the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It is now preserved in the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, and bears the exhibit number 1172. For remarks on Coptic altars, cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 382.

PLATE XXXVIII

Sanctuary curtain in violet-coloured silk, measuring 1.85 metres long and 1.10 metres wide. In the upper border there are embroidered in Coptic the words : 'Hail to the Temple of God the Almighty'. Above the cross there is depicted the Holy Virgin Mary and the Child with an angel on each side. In the angles of the cross there are embroidered with Coptic letters the initials which stand for 'Jesus Christ, Son of God'. At the bottom of the cross, on the right side, there are embroidered in Arabic the words : 'I will go in unto Thy House : I will worship towards Thy holy Temple' (Psalm v, 8*). On the left side there are embroidered in Arabic also the words : 'Recompense, O Lord, him who toiled, in the Kingdom of the Heavens'. In the lower border there are embroidered in Arabic the words : 'A perpetual endowment (waqf) and a permanent legacy to the Church of the Lady, the Mistress, and of the pure martyrs Sergius and Bacchus, year 1451 (=1734-35 A.D.). It is now preserved in the Coptic Museum, in case 19 (south wall) of room 19. For remarks on Coptic sanctuary curtains, cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 380.

PLATE XXXIX

Textus case of the Gospels in silver with floral decoration in relief. Cross in centre formed with gems. The Coptic inscription at the top and the bottom of this case reads : 'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God' (John i, 1*). On one side there is inscribed in Arabic : 'A perpetual endowment (waqf) and a permanent legacy to the Church of the Lady, the Mistress, of the Pot of Basil (Old Cairo). Recompense, O Lord, him who toiled, in the Kingdom of the Heavens. The year 1140 of the Pure Martyrs (=1423-24 A.D.). O Lord, have mercy.' It is now preserved in the Coptic Museum, and bears the exhibit number 1562. For remarks on Textus cases of the Gospels, cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 385.

PLATE XL

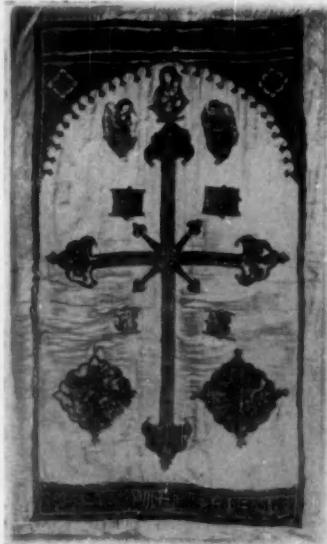
Plaited leather Skhēma (*Σχῆμα*) worn by monks who have been initiated into the second degree of monasticism. It is preserved in the Coptic Museum, and bears the exhibit number 277. For remarks on the monastic skhēma, cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 218.

PLATE XXXVII



Ancient Wooden Altar

PLATE XXXVIII



Sanctuary Curtain

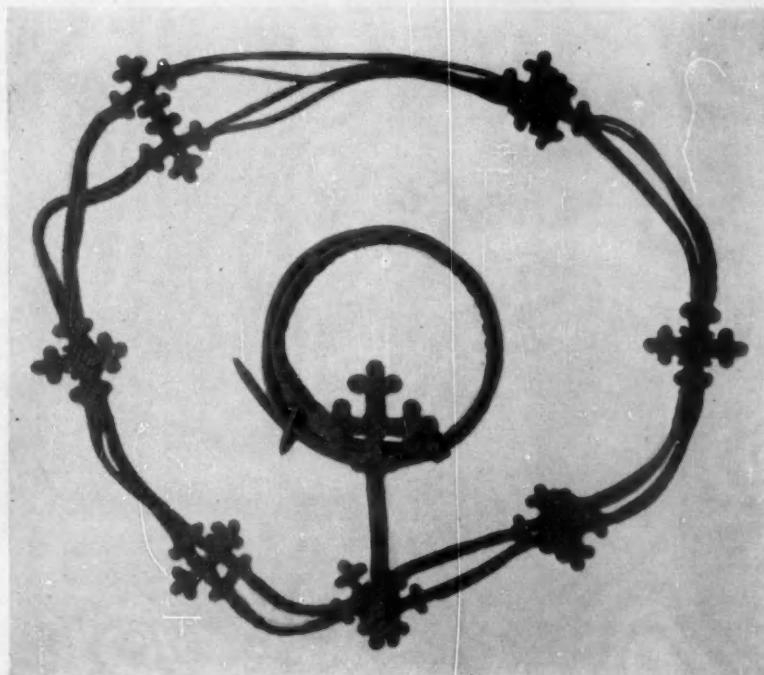
PLATE XXXIX



Textus case of the Gospels

[Photos by courtesy of the Coptic Museum, Cairo]

PLATE XL



Monastic Skhêma

PLATE XLI



Episcopal Throne

PLATE XLII



Altar-board

[Photos by the courtesy of the Coptic Museum, Cairo]

PLATE XLI

Portable Episcopal Throne in carved wood with open-work decoration and gilt ornamentation. Measurements : 1.35 metres high and 77 cm. wide. From the Church of al-Malâk al-Qiblî, Cairo. It is now preserved in the Coptic Museum, and bears the exhibit number 692.

PLATE XLII

Altar-board (*al-Lawh*), measuring 70 cm. long and 45 cm. wide. In the border, beginning at the top left-hand corner, there is the following text in Coptic : 'His foundations are in the holy mountains. The Lord loveth the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are said of thee' (Psalm LXXXVI, 1-3*). In the border which encircles the cross in the centre, there is the following text in Coptic, beginning at the top left-hand side : 'Thy altars, Lord God of hosts, my King and my God' (Psalm LXXXIII, 4*). Above the cross there is inscribed the letters IESPXS (Jesus Christ), and below, AFSHRO (conquers). This same inscription ΙΣ ΧΣ ΝΙ ΚΑ (Jesus Christ conquers) is stamped on the Prophora-loaves of the Greek Church. This altar-board comes from the Church of the Archangel Michael at the Fûm al-Khalig, Cairo, of which no trace now remains. It is now preserved in the Coptic Museum, and bears the exhibit number 665. For remarks on the altar-board of the Coptic Church, cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 382.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

CONSTANTINOPLE

Nicodemus the Hagiorite has been proclaimed a saint by the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

He died 14th July 1809, so 14th July will be kept as his feast day. He was born in 1748. In 1775 he became a monk in the monastery of St Dionysius on Mount Athos.

An account of him is to be found in Professor H. A. Hodge's introduction to the *Unseen Warfare* (Faber and Faber, see *E.C.Q.* Winter 1952).

This canonization may be considered as an encouragement to the Hesychast spiritual tradition and to an ecumenical approach to Christian Unity. Nicodemus was both a collector of material for the *Philokalia* and the translator of the *Spiritual Combat*.

* * * *

U.S.A.

The Coptic Patriarch, Anba Youssab II, is considering the establishment of a Coptic church in the United States. (E.P.S., Geneva.)

As we go to press a very important correspondence has opened in the pages of *The Tablet* (April 9th) under the heading, 'Anxiety in the Church of England'. We will comment on this in our next issue.

OBITUARY

FATHER PHILIP DE REGIS, s.j.

On 19th February 1955 Father Philip de Régis died at Buenos Aires. He came from an ancient French family which had, in the seventeenth century, given to the Church, St Francis Régis. His final illness overcame him the more rapidly because his strength was exhausted by his unremitting apostolic work. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1914 and consecrated his entire life to the work of reunion among the Russians, which had been assigned him by his superiors. He worked first in Poland in the mission of Albertyn, then at Rome as Rector of the Russian College. In 1947 he became superior of the Unionist mission at Buenos Aires ; there he founded a Catholic Russian parish of the Byzantine rite, destined to propagate the idea of a mutual *rapprochement* between Orthodox and Catholics.

The apostolic method of Father de Régis consisted so to speak, in having no calculated method, but in acting always through authentic, Christian, living, spontaneous charity. He had nothing of the 'functionary' about him, no suggestion of 'department for kind actions', he was not an 'active member' of a committee for the relief of poor people, nor a distributor of free gifts whose task is finished when the gifts are distributed, nor yet an organizer of permanent assistance to the disinherited. Still less was he an indiscreet proselytizer. He was above all a friend of the Russian *émigrés*, a friend so devoted that he would not shrink from unpleasant consequences or humiliation if, to aid a Russian *émigré*, he had to make representations with persons in authority ; a friend at once sensitive and respectful of the religious convictions of others, of those to whom he was lending a helping hand ; a friend who was upright, sincere, cordial and inspiring ; a friend who was ready to help the unfortunate in every possible way and throughout the whole range of human miseries ; a friend who was disinterested and faithful, and remained so even in dealing with the cases of black ingratitude or of more or less concealed defiance such as are inevitable in this life of apostolate.

Father de Régis had enemies, especially among the Orthodox of the 'extreme right' who considered Catholicism of the Eastern Rite a mere 'trick' to deceive the simple. He was attacked in the press and accused of minimising the dogmatic differences between the Christian confessions. But much more numerous are the Russians of strictly religious and non-

political Orthodoxy, who thought highly of him, loved him much, and who, under his influence, are devoting themselves to an apostolate of psychological reconciliation between Orthodox and Catholics, and desire collaboration over the wide field of common religious beliefs in order to wage more successfully the battle against militant impiety.

Father de Régis did not make use of the Byzantine rite only ; he practised also as far as possible the bodily mortifications so dear to Orthodox piety. His room at Buenos Aires was like that of a *starets*, of an authentic Russian ascetic : the poorest of beds, a little table, a solitary chair, some planks suspended along the wall—that was all. When he was already seriously ill, he sought no other medical aid than that which is accorded to the poor.

S. TYSZKIEWICZ, S.J.

DOM ROMANUS RIOS

Abbot Rios died on 12th February 1955 after a long and grievous illness.

He was a monk of New Nursia in Australia and he came to St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, in 1934. He was elected Abbot Visitor of the English Province of the Reformed Cassinese Congregation in 1948.

He wrote several articles for the *E.C.Q.* during 1940–4. He was a student of Patristics, Benedictine history, and liturgy. Let us pray for him.

PÈRE MARTIN JUGIE, A.A.

This winter Père Jugie passed away after a long illness. He was an outstanding scholar in things Oriental. His monumental work was, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium* (Paris 1926–35) in five volumes. He taught successively at the Greek Catholic Seminary of Cadi-Koui, the Oriental Institute, when it was first started, Lyons and the Propaganda Fide College in Rome. He went into retirement in 1952. He was seventy-seven when he died. R.I.P.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom. Some Troparia of our Church (Η ΘΕΙΑ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ —ΜΕΡΙΚΑ ΤΡΟΠΑΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΜΑΣ) by Andreas K. Karagēorgiou, Alexandria 1954. Pp. 32, in stiff paper binding, 15 x 10 centimetres.

This handy pocket-edition of the divine liturgy of St John Chrysostom, though primarily intended by the author for the use of High School pupils, will also prove very useful to others who may wish to have with them, when attending the divine liturgy, the Greek text of the audible parts of the liturgy which are invariable. This text is printed in clear bold characters, and the responses of the choir are given in black type. The first part of this booklet (pp. 3-19) gives the text of those audible and invariable parts of the liturgy, which are assigned to the deacon, priest and choir. The second part (pp. 20-32) which contains the text of a number of the more usual troparia, will also prove of service to the reader who may be in need of a reference to these troparia, and who has not at hand the liturgical volumes which contain them.

Among these troparia there are the *Apolytikia* and the *Contakia* of some twenty of the principal feasts of the year. Holy Week is represented by such well-known hymns as 'Behold, the Bridegroom cometh, etc.' and 'I see Thy bride-chamber adorned, etc.' (Monday-Wednesday, at matins); 'The woman who had fallen into many sins, etc.' by the Nun Cassianis (Wednesday, at matins); 'Receive me to-day, Son of God, as a partaker of Thy Mystic Supper, etc.' (Maundy Thursday, at the liturgy); 'To-day is hung on the Wood of the Cross, etc.' (Good Friday, at the procession with the Cross); 'The noble Joseph takes down from the Wood of the Cross, etc.' (Good Friday vespers, at the Burial of Christ); the Resurrection hymn 'Christ is risen, etc.' In addition, there are the *Apolytikia* of the Eight Tones of Sunday; the hymn 'O Gladsome Light, etc.' of daily vespers; the *Contakion* 'O ever-present Protection of Christians, etc.' and the final chant of the Acathist hymn (on the first five Fridays of Lent) 'The beauty of thy virginity, etc.' which is also sung at marriages.

Copies of this booklet may be obtained from the Rev. Andreas K. Karagēorgiou, c/o Communauté Hellénique, Abu Kir, near Alexandria, price 2s.

O.H.E.H-B.

A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion (Berlin MS. Or. Oct. 1019), edited by Matthew Black (*Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature: New Series*, edited by C. H. Dodd: I: C.U.P. 1954).

The Christian Palestinian Syriac community is unknown to us outside its own literature, which itself consists entirely of translations. All we can learn of it must be based on archaeological research into our documents—a tantalizing fact, when these reveal to us a community of Chalcedonian faith, preserving its identity up to the time of the Crusades, with its original home in Palestine, but with outposts in Egypt (witness the translation of the 'Nile Liturgy') and on Sinai (where most of our MSS. seem to have been preserved), and using (though in the end not exclusively even in Church) a language closer to what our Lord must have spoken than that of any other Christian community. The approximation of this language to that of the Palestinian Targum and Talmud, and of Samaritan literature, led scholars at one time to conjecture that it belonged to a community of Jews and Samaritans forcibly converted to Christianity under Justinian. There is no need for such a conjecture (as Dr Black says, 'no connection has ever been found between Melkite Christianity and Judaism'). Rather it represents the speech common to all Palestinian villages, to whatever community they belonged, up to the end of the Roman rule, here found continuing in liturgical use for centuries longer.

Although other works or fragments of works, ascetic and patristic, have been published, the main interest of scholars in this field up to date has been in the evidence here to be found for the history of the text of Holy Scripture. And Dr Black's primary interest lies in this direction. But his publications of liturgical texts are of the greatest value also to scholars of very different interests. His '*Rituale Melchitarum*' published in 1938¹ (perhaps it suggested too much to call it a '*Christian Palestinian Euchologion*') gave us forms for the consecration of a Church, the 'Nile Liturgy', and a series of ordination services. In the work here under review, we have a complete Horologion, written at Jerusalem in 1187. It seems that a leaf had been torn out of the slightly earlier MS. from which this was copied, and of which that leaf alone survives, by a happy coincidence, exactly to fill the lacuna in our MS.!

¹ *Rituale Melchitarum, A Christian Palestinian Euchologion* (Bonner Orientalische Studien, Heft 22 : Stuttgart, 1938).

This Horologion is indeed a rich mine for the Biblical scholar, containing as it does, apart from shorter quotations, the full text of thirty-seven psalms, nine other considerable passages of the Old Testament, the Magnificat, the Benedictus, and the Beatitudes. Dr Black devotes a section of his introduction, and a valuable series of critical notes, to the study of the Biblical text here represented, which he finds to be in the main of the Byzantine type (variants might enable scholars to link it with a particular group of MSS.), but also to show considerable influence of the Peshitta—in fact it has been suggested that in the O.T. an older version, based ultimately on a Palestinian Targum, has here been adapted to the Byzantine text. Dr Black would explain agreements with the Palestinian Targum, as derived either from the Peshitta or from a pre-Rabbulan Syriac version, the use of which if proved, would take back the Palestinian-Syriac version at least to the fifth century. But the argument must here remain very tentative.

In its general contents, the Horologion is simply a translation of the Greek : such hymns and prayers as are not to-day to be found in the Greek service-books (and a long search would be required before we could be satisfied that they really do not survive there) are still probably to be traced to Greek originals—though the possibility of the occasional use of a Syriac hymn could not be ruled out. Variants in order from the Greek are sufficient to be of interest, but rarely more than what we would expect to find in the course of the development of the office. The Midnight office is rather surprisingly put last, instead of first as in the Greek Horologion. This would suggest that the chief period for sleep was in our community between Midnight and Mattins, whereas in Greek use (confirmed for Palestine by the Typikon of St Saba) Mattins follows immediately on the Midnight office. Perhaps this difference explains the still more surprising curtailment of Mattins in our MS.—unless we are to suppose that in this case alone our MS. does not set out to give us the full office, but only the invariable Biblical texts. For this is in fact what it gives us—the Hexapsalm and the Canticles, with nothing in between and nothing following before Prime : Lauds proper is completely omitted, and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, that great primitive morning hymn, is here only to be found in Compline and the Midnight office ! The omission of Psalms 19 and 20 at the beginning of Mattins was to be expected, as they constitute, with the prayers and troparia attached to

them, a short office of prayer for the Emperor, certainly later in origin than the Arab occupation of Palestine. The Second Canticle, the long Deuteronomic Song of Moses, is also omitted. This is in accord with its practical omission, except in Lent, in the Byzantine rite from quite an early time. On the other hand, the former existence of troparia for this Canticle is implied by the incomplete acrostics of a number of ninth century canons as they appear in the Greek service-books to-day, and such troparia actually survive in fifteenth century Melkite versions of the Triodion in Edessene Syriac (e.g. MS. Dawkins 84 in the Bodleian), which in this respect seem to represent a more primitive tradition than our much earlier MS.

Compline and the Midnight office show rather more variations from the order of the Greek than are to be found in the other hours and mesoria. At the end of the Midnight office are added troparia and prayers proper to Saturday and Sunday, which we have not found in the Greek, but which generally suggest a Greek original. After this comes a Karshûni rubric, as introducing a variant tradition—‘The following are the correct troparia according to the Arabs and the Romans’ (i.e. Byzantines : Dr Black translates ‘Greeks’)—which of course gives the meaning ; but it is better to keep the significance of the Arabic ‘Rûm’). The series of Karshûni troparia which follow are in fact all to be found in the Greek, though only a few of them occur as invariables at the corresponding point in the Greek Horologion. They appear to keep closer to the Greek than does the Palestinian Syriac translation normally : but in some cases the Karshûni translator has shown little understanding of the original : in the troparion, ‘Μακαρίζομέν σε πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαὶ, Θεοτόκε’,² he has taken the ‘πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαὶ, for a vocative ! It is in this section that there occurs an agreement of our MS. with the Arabic Horologion against the Greek, which Dr Black cites as evidence for the Palestinian, and Jerusalem, provenance of our Horologion. In place of the accepted ‘τὸν κοσμὸν σου ἀνακάλεσν, τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κραταῖσσον’, our text implies a Greek ‘τὴν πόλιν σου διαφύλαξον, τοὺς βοσιλεῖς κραταῖσσον’.³ But the City of the Mother of God is clearly Constantinople, and the notable thing about this troparion with its reinforced imperial character is that it comes in the section proper to ‘the Arabs and the Romans’.

² P. 101 (f. 138b) : see also Addenda et Corrigenda.

³ P. 100 (f. 135b).

The last quarter of the MS., again in Syriac, is occupied by troparia for the Beatitudes for every day in the Eight Modes—corresponding to those found distributed through the Greek Parakletike, but in many cases quite different from these. Of those which can be identified in the Greek, the Syriac is rarely at all an exact translation, but gives the impression of an extremely free and rather rhetorical version rather than of translation from a different original. There seems to be no trace of metrical regularity in the Syriac, and Greek originals may probably be presumed even where they are now lost. But here is one of the big problems arising from the MS. and pointed out both by Dr Black in his introduction, and by the Maronite Michel Rajji in his article, 'Le Monothélisme chez les Maronites et les Melkites', in the Journal of Ecclesiastical History for 1951 (Vol. II, 1, pp. 38ff.). The Theotokion of Saturday of the Fourth Mode, which is explicitly Dyothelite in the Greek (. . . γεγονότα ἀνθρωπον τέλειον, δυσὶ γνωριζόμενον ἐνεργεῖσαι, 'Ἄχραντε, καὶ θελήσεσιν') is certainly formally monothelite in the Syriac ('made known in two natures, and in one will made perfect'). The Syriac troparion is clearly based on the Greek, and the rhythm of the latter makes it difficult to suppose that it has been altered to conform to the Sixth Council. Hitherto it has been almost taken for granted that the Palestinian Syriac community was always part of the Orthodox Church. Does this troparion prove otherwise?

What do we know of this community? That it was Chalcedonian, and Palestinian, is demonstrated by the list of Saints in Compline, where the monks of the Judaean Wilderness—Saba, Euthymius, Gerasimus, Charito, Theodosius (all except Charito post-Chalcedonian) are placed even before St Antony, and among them Saba, whose laura became the great enduring metropolis of the Wilderness, is given pride of place above his master Euthymius.⁴ These were Chalcedonians: but no saint of later date than the sixth century is mentioned. Is this just chance? How far does it betoken a freezing of liturgical forms in an isolated Christian community as a result of the Islamic conquest? Was that isolation merely physical, or

⁴ It was in a cave of the laura of St Firminus, a disciple of St Saba, that a young Russian, Michael Markoff, after an adventurous lonely climb in 1928, found a Baptistry with the inscription thrice repeated in Syriac, 'The voice of the Lord is on the waters': short though it was, it was sufficient for F. C. Burkitt to recognize, both in language and orthography, several clear indications that the inscription was in the Palestinian, not the Edessene language. It could not surely have been later than the Persian invasion of 614 A.D.

was it also ecclesiastical? We note the moment at which the Arab conquest of Palestine took place—just when the debate which culminated in the Sixth Council was in its middle course. And if the monothelite phrase surprises us in a Chalcedonian community in the land of St Sophronius, we must remember that his stage of the debate was concerned more with the two energies than the two wills. Moreover, the Syriac word for 'will' is less precise than the Greek—has in fact on occasion to do duty for a variety of Greek words, and might perhaps, for an Orthodox mind, be less amenable to the thought of duality than the Greek θέλημα or θέλησις. Survival, in an obscure community outside the Empire, of a monothelite formula in a Syriac version made before the language was fixed by the Sixth Council, perhaps even before the debate had seriously arisen, might well be connived at by the Imperial Church. Rajji points to a Melkite confession surviving in Arabic in much later MSS. than ours, which accepts both formulae, one will and two wills—the latter explicitly in order to conform to the Sixth Council. In fact he argues from this that we have no longer any ground for concluding that the Maronites themselves were ever heretical.

What was the position of the Palestinian Syriac community when our MS. was written, in the year in which Saladin took Jerusalem? Dr Black uses too strong a word when he says that the Karshûni rubric about Arabs and Romans 'makes it clear that they felt themselves to be a distinct Christian Church *separate* from the Byzantine Greek Church'. Some diversity of rite certainly persisted for many centuries in different regions of the Orthodox Church without any loss of communion. The Holy Land in particular has always been a land of many small communities. And diversity of liturgical language and of rite need not there have been incompatible with full communion of such small communities within the Great Church. Actually it is precisely about the date of our MS., when East and West were falling apart, that the strictly Byzantine rite began to impose itself—no doubt for the sake of consolidation—on the whole Eastern Orthodox Church. And the comparison of traditions shown in our MS., with its preference for 'Rûm' as having the correct use, may indicate a stage in that process. On the other hand, it remains possible that the Palestinian Syriac community had in fact been long really isolated, and was now seeking the protection of the Great Church. Was it not about this time that the Maronites sought the protection of the West-Roman communion?

What was the subsequent history of the Palestinian Syriac community? And what, incidentally, was the *Arabic* community whose use was more in conformity with that of 'Rûm', but which yet was in some way distinct from 'Rûm' as a community? Our MSS. are among the latest surviving products of the Palestinian Syriac language. Melkite MSS. in Edessene Syriac continued to be transcribed for several centuries later. A cursory glance at two such Horologia in the British Museum showed that they were in general much closer to the Greek than our MS. But in certain details they showed agreement with the Palestinian Syriac which might possibly suggest some continuity of tradition. The subject is worth more thorough investigation. We must remember that the MS. of the 'Rituale Melchitarum' contains documents in Palestinian and Edessene Syriac, in Karshûni, and in Greek written in Syriac characters, side by side.

As Dr Black points out, the dating at the end of our MS. of 'Al Hurûm' and Easter for fifteen years shows what clearly must be the beginning of Lent *eight* weeks, and not the normal seven, before Easter. This is interesting late confirmation of a Jerusalem practice found in the Pilgrimage of Etheria, and again in a Georgian version of the Jerusalem Typikon which appears to go back to the seventh century, wherein the Eighth Sunday before Easter is counted as the First Sunday in Lent, at the beginning of the First Week. But, though 'Al Hurum' would certainly seem to mean 'the Anathemas', it is difficult to identify it with the Anathemas of the Byzantine 'Sunday of Orthodoxy', as this, though counted as the 'First Sunday in Lent' in the Greek Triodion, falls at the end, not at the beginning, of the First Week of the seven-week Lent, and only six weeks before Easter.

In some ways Dr Black writes from too far outside Greek Patristic tradition. Else he would know that there is no trace of heresy in the reading implied in the Syriac (against the surviving Greek) on f. 147a of the MS.—πῶς δ ἀποθῆς πάθος ὑπέμεινας; and occasionally this leads him to put English style before exactness of translation where the latter, at least in a footnote, is owed to the theologian. Thus on p. 68, 'thou before thou wast delivered wast virgin, a mother yet a virgin' conceals (f. 73a) 'Tu ante partum virgo, et in partu virgo, et post partum virgo'.

But your reviewer would feel happier in making such criticisms if he for his part could approach Dr Black's competence in treating of the Biblical text, or if there were a

larger number of scholars working in this field. Actually, Dr Black is (in Britain at least) practically alone in it, and we are very greatly in his debt.

Attention must be called to an important sheet of Addenda et Corrigenda recently issued by the C.U.P.

DERWAS J. CHITTY.

Spiritual Perspectives and Human Facts by Frithjof Schuon, translated by Macleod Matheson. Pp. 213 (Faber and Faber) 21s.

This is an arresting book in many ways, but it is not an easy book to read, it suffers from the usual difficulty of a translation : many of its phrases are heavy and involved.

Its range is wide, much too wide to treat of in a short review. It covers reflections on : Thought and Civilization ; Aesthetics and Symbolism in Art and Nature ; Contours of the Spirit ; the Vedanta ; Love and Knowledge ; the Spiritual Virtues.

As it roves over these fields it piles statement on statement, with some of which one would easily agree ; others one would need to ponder long ; with others one could not agree at all. *A few of those with which one could easily agree :*

'The virtue of the contemplative is that he makes of his virtues a grace to others ; on the last analysis his positive virtue is that of God which he realizes in his vision.'

'The confusion of ugliness with simplicity.'

'The born contemplative sees God in all beauty, thus it leads him to God . . . The passionate man sees beauty as a desire, therefore it leads him away from God.'

'In the last analysis charity is to make a gift of God to God by means of the ego and through beings. It communicates a blessing, the source of which is God, and communicates it to the neighbour who, inasmuch as he is the object of love, plays the part of God . . .' (This might almost be a description of the central act of worship of the Catholic : the Mass.)

Statements which need pondering on, and with which one would only partially agree. Two examples :

'Poets such as Dante . . . expressed spiritual realities through the beauty of their souls . . .' (Yes, but this is only a half truth, as are so many of the statements in the book. Dante expressed spiritual realities through the beauty of his soul, but also through the medium of the Revelation of Truth in which he was brought up.)

'Morallities can vary, for they are founded on social exigencies . . . (The whole truth? Has not God given commandments ?)

Statements with which one cannot agree :

'In the last analysis everything comes down to a question of terminology . . .' No, for behind terminology there is often a meaning that varies considerably with the different religions which use it. That is to say, it is *not* a question of saying : We use different terms but we all mean the same thing ; for often it is just the reverse. We use the same terms but mean quite different things.

This brings us to the crux of the book and its central position, which is expressed in the title of the writer's previous book, 'The Transcendent Unity of Religions' ; or, as he states it in this present book, in his chapter on the Vedanta : 'Rama Krishna was like the living symbol of the inner unity of religions . . . He was the saint called to "verify" forms and "reveal", if one can so express it, their single truth . . . This function is sufficient unto itself and in any case excludes the establishment of an organization seeking to represent a "super religion".'

With the statement that Rama Krishna was a saint one does not wish to quarrel, the difficulty arises in regard to the statement, 'the inner unity of religions . . . their single truths . . . which exclude the establishment of an organization seeking to represent a "super religion".'

This is a position which is attractive to many to-day : 'The transcendent unity of religions', and a rejection of any claim to a super religion, a religion that has in it an unique element not to be found in the others, or a religion that is organized.

In the West the adherents of this position are often to be found in the wake of Aldous Huxley and other such thoughtful and penetrating writers. Though it is not confined to the West, there is a kind of cult of it everywhere, the disciples of which scorn to ascribe to any one religion, but manifest a fascinated interest in what they usually term vaguely 'Eastern religions', the exact teaching of which they seldom know in its true setting, and the practical implications of which they have had no opportunity of seeing.

How far is it true? It would seem there can be found a certain unity of truth in all religions. It would be strange if it were otherwise, for 'God has not left himself without a witness', as the writer of Hebrews says.

However, it does not follow from this that there is no religion with a unique claim, a 'super religion', or no organized religion worthy of attention. It would be consoling to one's

love of tolerance and 'broad-mindedness' to think it did, but would it be faithful to one's love of Truth?

For what is the Truth? That is, what are the *facts*? For the crux of the matter is simply a matter of plain historic facts: the facts of the Incarnation, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Pentecost. That is, the facts of the claim of the historic Christ, and the historic confirmation of that claim:

Christ, born in time, claimed to be God, and died on a charge of blasphemy which he could easily have refuted but did not. On the third day he rose again, thus confirming his claim. All these are historic facts. It is for those who reject them to substantiate their rejection by adequate proofs.

If Christ, then, is truly God, very God of very God, all he taught and claimed is true. He taught that men are sinners and that he died for their sins, that without this redemption man is alienated from God, with it he is brought back into sonship. That is, there can be no true union without this unique act of redemption, made by God himself in time. This is what God incarnate taught.

If this, then, is true, the position of the unity of all religions, with no unique contribution of one, is false. For actually, though there *is* a unity of all religions, there is also a religion with a 'plus', which 'plus' must be ignored at the risk of the soul losing its eternal salvation. It is a 'plus' claimed solely because historic facts support the claim.

The confusion of thought, then, that leads to a contrary position is the confusion that sees in all religions an obvious unity, yet fails to see an equally obvious 'plus' in one. And this confusion results because of another: the confusion to distinguish between an apprehension of God, a sanctity of life, and man's need for redemption and the HISTORIC Redeemer: Christ, incarnate God:

Men in all religions have apprehended God and his truths. Leaving aside the controversial point as to whether they have apprehended equally (and, since God is not limited to his own Self-revelation, the possibility that they have must at least be muted) there yet remains, if Christianity is not false, the fact that such men are sinners and need this historic Redeemer who has made the *unique* act of redemption in time and space.

As has been said, it is for those who reject this claim to substantiate their rejection by bringing adequate proofs against the historicity of Christ, his teaching, his claim, his resurrection (which is the historic confirmation of his claim),

his subsequent Church, that 'organization' of a 'super religion', which was created, empowered, commissioned by Incarnate God himself to apply the fruits of the redemption which he himself wrought for man whom he declared to be a sinner.

Though appreciating and agreeing with much in the book, one sees the historic facts of Christianity as the formidable challenge to its central position.

D.S.

Die russisch-orthodoxe Heidenmission seit Peter dem Grossen by P. Dr Josef Glazik, M.S.C. (Mission studies and Documents, No. 19) Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Münster, Westfalen, 1954. Pp. xxxvi + 270, with three maps.

This work is the first part of a comprehensive study of the missions of the Russian Orthodox Church. The author's plan includes also an account of missions to the Jews and Moslems, and finally a discussion of the theory and methods of Russian Orthodox missions. Dr Glazik was persuaded to undertake this study when he returned from being a prisoner of war in Soviet Russia. The very full bibliography of original sources and historical studies in Russian, German, French and English shows the scholarly quality of the work. If I say immediately that the greater part of the volume is rather dry, whole sections being little more than lists of names, dates and places of activity, this must not be taken as a charge against the author. One must rather say that he has fulfilled his task admirably under the difficult conditions which he outlines in his foreword; for on the one hand the available material, like its subject, is enormous, while on the other, much of what the student of the subject would want above all to enliven his history—unpublished first-hand documents and the testimony of people still living in Russia—was of course not available to Dr Glazik. Only the section on the Japanese mission escapes this dryness and incompleteness. The work as it stands is very valuable to the serious student, but for the sympathetic English reader it is not likely to replace a more readable work such as Father Bolshakoff's account.¹

It is just another result of the tragic mutual isolation of Russia and the West that such a labour of scholarship could not have been allowed the resources necessary to give us a work so vivid and impressive as Felix Alfred Plattner's *Jesuiten zur See*.²

¹ S. Bolshakoff (Orthodox), *The foreign missions of the Russian Orthodox Church*. London, 1943.

² Translated as *Jesuits Go East*, Clonmore and Reynolds, Dublin, 1950.

Though the scope of the work is limited as the title says, there is an acute introductory sketch bringing us up to Peter the Great, and emphasizing those features of the growing Church which were to be most formative in its missionary development. Even at the beginning, it was Saint Vladimir, not the Greek missionaries, who decided that the people of Kiev were to be baptized. Only in the nineteenth century was it to come about that missionary activity would be first of all the response to a vocation and not to a Ukase. Again, as Christianity spread northwards from Kiev, it came with the settlers, or at best was brought by monks who were seeking solitude rather than converts (though of course the monasteries were, always and everywhere, the most effective missionary ventures). Thus from the first one sees that strange feature of Russian missionary expansion which the author notes on p. 230: 'the Christian people spread Christianity among the native population without being conscious that it was their duty to do so: one gets the impression that the Christian faith . . . just spread itself'.

Dr Glazik interprets the missionary Ukase of Peter the Great to the Metropolitan of Kiev in 1700 as typical of his westernizing tendency. In this he foreshadows the conclusion of the book, that the Russian Church was set off on the wrong foot by Byzantium, and scarcely discovered that 'Go ye and teach all nations' is a command essential to the faith she had received, until Western influences became effective in the nineteenth century. However, in Peter's time the Kiev Academy, to which he appealed, was fully open to Western influences, and in general, as Dr Glazik notes, many of the notable individual missionaries sprang from Western Russia. Peter was also much exercised by Jesuit activity in China, and this chapter is an illuminating commentary on the Jesuits' story of their attempts to get to China through Russia, told in Father Plattner's book.

Dr Glazik then reviews the different mission-fields in turn, first in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, till the indifferentist policy of Catherine the Second combined with the fruits of the former official policy to bring missionary work almost to a standstill, and then again in the splendid flowering of the nineteenth century. The great features of the first period were the giving of material bribes to accept baptism, and the common subsequent neglect of the newly-baptized. This summary statement of course represents a hostile judgement on the system, and should be balanced by an appreciation of

the faith these men showed in the efficacy of the sacrament *ex opere operato*, and of the great difficulty of caring for new converts in nomad tribes. This difficulty has never been solved except by converting the nomads to stable civilization as well as to Christianity ; and as many of the nomads of the steppes refused to be civilized, the conditions for the faith 'taking' were so unfavourable that one should be slow to criticize the missionaries on that account. However, a policy of mass baptism which does not take very seriously the need of long preparation and subsequent care is without doubt a disastrous one.

The story of the 'mission' in Peking, fairly well known as it is in the Russian version, is told again from the Chinese point of view, and the Jesuit mission is brought into relation with the Russian parishes (which till the nineteenth-century revival had little or nothing to do with missionary zeal). In the eighteenth century the Chinese completely outmanœuvred the Russians in that political game of which to Europe the Russians are masters ; but in playing the Jesuits off against the Russians by supporting the Jesuits for their cultural services but giving the Russians more religious facilities, they did a good turn to the Russian Orthodox venture.

In the second part of the work the mission-fields in European Russia, all Siberia, Kamchatka, the Aleutians and North America, China and Japan are again treated. The picture is now much brighter. Where previously the effective missionaries had been isolated personalities, now the greatest ones—Makarii Glukharev in Western Siberia, Innokentii Veniaminov in the extreme Far East, and Nikolai Kasatkin in Japan—all saw to it that their work was put on a foundation which would last, and backed up from home. In short, an account of their work reads very like that of the work of any of the great Catholic missionaries, with a number of important features which are characteristically Orthodox. The reader of the chapter on the Japanese mission, with its flourishing organization of catechists, schools and charitable institutions, will look in vain for the cobwebby, squalid and supine 'Orthodoxy' of the old Western caricatures ; instead, we see a virile young community, quite free from the evils of state control, and guided by its father and later bishop, Nikolai Kasatkin, with wonderful wisdom and charity. His *Mission Instruction* (p. 181 ff.) may be compared in vigour and pointedness with the letters of St Francis Xavier. There is

also a beautiful quotation (p. 192) from his pastoral letter in the crisis of the Russo-Japanese war.

Besides all this we see the characteristic Orthodox practice of translating the Divine Liturgy, which has been done in Japan, China, and many areas of Siberia (not to mention Western countries), and that eagerness to spread knowledge of the Bible in the new vernacular, in which the Russian Orthodox Church, at least since the foundation of the Russian Bible Society in 1813, has shown a reverence for the Word of God which goes beyond lip-service. As regards the use of the Byzantine Liturgy in Eastern languages, Dr Glazik quotes (p. 191) the modern Catholic missionaries who are thinking on the same lines; it would be good to know more of this possible development. This liturgical policy is one aspect of the general one of linguistic, mental and psychological self-adaptation in which the greatest Russian missionaries excelled.

Dr Glazik's final judgement, after a historical account which is fair and appreciative throughout, is a rather severe one, as I have already hinted. Considering the bad position that the Russian Church was in in relation to the State, the achievement in the vast land mass of European and Asiatic Russia is a great and glorious one; but the failures mingled with that achievement underline very black how bad the Church/State relation was for the Church's missions, and that means for the whole of Christian life.

'Missionsarbeit ist immer—gewollt oder ungewollt—ein Spiegelbild vom Leben des Christentums in der Heimat', says Dr Glazik (p. 116). One of the things which make this book of universal interest is the way it illustrates how closely connected in a flourishing Christian life are missionary zeal, an intense liturgical life, and a widespread love of the Bible. These three things are an index to the health of a Christian community.

ROBERT MURRAY, S.J.

Regards sur l'Orthodoxie. Essays by several hands. Pp. 138
(Casterman, Paris). n.p.

The *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* has added to its series of *cabiers* a collection of articles on Eastern Orthodoxy, in view of the ninth century of the conventional date of the separation between Old and New Rome. Father R. Janin, A.A., writes on 'Le schisme byzantin de 1054'; Father E. Herman, S.J., on 'Neuf siècles de schisme entre l'Eglise d'Orient et d'Occident';

Father S. Tyszkiewicz, s.j., on 'Le visage de l'Orthodoxie'; Father A. Wenger, A.A., on 'Les divergences doctrinales entre l'Église catholique and les Églises orthodoxes'; Father P. Mailleux, s.j., on 'L'union est-elle possible?' and Father G. Dejaifve, s.j., on 'Lueurs d'espoir'.

The names of these writers are sufficient assurance that their papers are solid, expert and up-to-date. The collection is particularly valuable for anyone wanting a summary account at the level of good scholarship of the matters dealt with; and there is some useful documentation for further study. Certainly one of the best things in the book is Father Tyszkiewicz's article. He emphasizes that we of the West must learn about the religious values of Orthodoxy in their 'ensemble organique et harmonieux'; but it is a pity he did not say more about the 'style platonicien' of Orthodoxy, instead of referring the reader elsewhere. His forthright warnings about skin-deep 'adaptation' are extremely pertinent.

The above articles take up over two-thirds of the book. The remainder is devoted to half a dozen papers on the present position of Orthodoxy. These are of exceptional interest. Not only are such obvious topics as the situation in the U.S.S.R. and the significance of Paris discussed; we are also told something about Orthodox immigrants in North and South America and the Orthodox Church in Japan. What Father Mailleux says about the *réservé* expressed in Canon 1102 (page 128, note) holds good in other countries besides France and for other marriages besides those of Catholics with Orthodox. The final paper is a short, sensitive and sensible article by Irene Posnoff on 'Comment travailler au rapprochement entre Catholiques et Orthodoxes?' The use of the word *rapprochement* (and not *réunion*) puts the emphasis in the right place for immediately practical purposes; and she quotes Solovyev: 'It is necessary first of all to establish a moral and spiritual link between Russian religious consciousness and the universal truth of the Catholic Church'. This must be done at every level, otherwise 'we risk having the Council of Florence all over again'. Every Catholic, therefore, who has the opportunity can contribute to it, not by 'indulging in demonstrations', but by trying to be 'a vehicle for the communication of some of the Church's warmth and light'.

D.A.

I Peter: a Paschal Liturgy by F. L. Cross, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford and Canon of Christchurch. (London, A. R. Mowbray and Co., 1954) 3s. 6d. net.

The exact meaning and purpose of St Peter's First Epistle has long been a subject of debate among Biblical scholars. In the present essay, Dr Cross offers a view of the matter, which may startle some people by its novelty, and yet may lead us nearer to a solution of the problem than any theory hitherto advanced. Starting from the fresh evidence we now possess concerning the pre-Nicene celebration of Easter, the author contends that the basis of St Peter's Epistle is nothing else than one of those liturgical exhortations which we know to have been customary in many places at the Solemn Baptism of catechumens on Easter Eve. A fair example of such an address is the *Homily on the Passion* of Melito of Sardis, while the *Apostolic Tradition*, now recognized as the work of Hippolytus, affords a detailed account not only of the Paschal Baptism and Confirmation, but even of the Eucharist itself.

It is not possible here to speak in detail of the remarkable correspondence between St Peter's Epistle and the picture of a Paschal Baptism delineated in the above documents. As a single illustration of this, we may compare the very frequent references to the 'sufferings of Christ' by St Peter with the marked emphasis on the same theme by the other writers. It is claimed that the tendency to unite the Passion of Christ with His Resurrection was typical of the first Christians, who regarded the two phases of our Redemption as merely different aspects of the same Mystery. Thus the celebration of the Christian Passover on Easter Sunday was no less a commemoration of Christ's Passion than of his Resurrection, a blending that was vividly portrayed both in the Sacrament of Baptism and in the Holy Eucharist. At the present day we are perhaps less familiar with this unified conception of our Lord's redeeming work than were the Christians of former ages, yet the Roman Liturgy for Eastertide still reminds us that we live by Christ only in so far as we die with Him.

This, then, is the great theme which St Peter sets himself to develop in his First Epistle. In order that its profound significance should sink deeply into the minds of his readers, he employs a variety of symbols, all of which are seen to converge in the rite of Baptism, or, in a slightly different form, in that of the Holy Eucharist.

Perhaps the most vivid passage of the Epistle is that comprised in vv. 18-21 of chap. iii, which the Roman Liturgy prescribes to be read as the Epistle for Easter Friday. Unfortunately, these verses contain more than one *crux* for commentators. What is the meaning of 'conscientiae bonae interrogatio in Deum?' R.V., 'The interrogation of a good conscience'; Douay, 'The examination of a good conscience'. Many and varied explanations have been given of this singular phrase, most of them unsatisfactory. Dr Cross believes that the term ἐπερώτημα is the exact equivalent of the Latin 'stipulatio', the technical term for making a contract. He quotes several early writers in support of his contention, and concludes that the reference in v. 21 is to the solemn Baptismal promises. We may add that this interpretation is further confirmed by the Syriac text which here employs a word definitely meaning 'promise', or 'profession'. Thus St Peter's reference is to the promises or vows made to God by the catechumen at his Baptism, as the outward token of his 'good conscience', i.e. his inward resolve to live up to the high standard of Christian holiness to which henceforth he will be bound. Incidentally it may be added that, for the terms 'saved', 'saveth' of vv. 20, 21, the Syriac text has the more expressive 'quickened', 'vivified', as in v. 18, implying that the 'life-giving' waters of Baptism were typified by the waters of the deluge, inasmuch as these were instrumental in bringing new life to a sinful world.

Whoever weighs carefully the impressive arguments gathered together in this brief but stimulating study will probably arrive at two conclusions: firstly, that I Peter, so far from being a mere selection of moral precepts thrown together at haphazard, and bearing little or no relation to one another, is, in reality a carefully thought-out composition, written with a simple but well-defined purpose; and, secondly, that the study of early liturgical writings is no insignificant advantage towards the right understanding of much that is otherwise unintelligible in the pages of the New Testament.

DOM ANTHONY FLANNERY.

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